



Class JH216

Book H2

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POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM,

BY

WILLIAM H. HANDEY,

OF

Hagerstown, Maryland,

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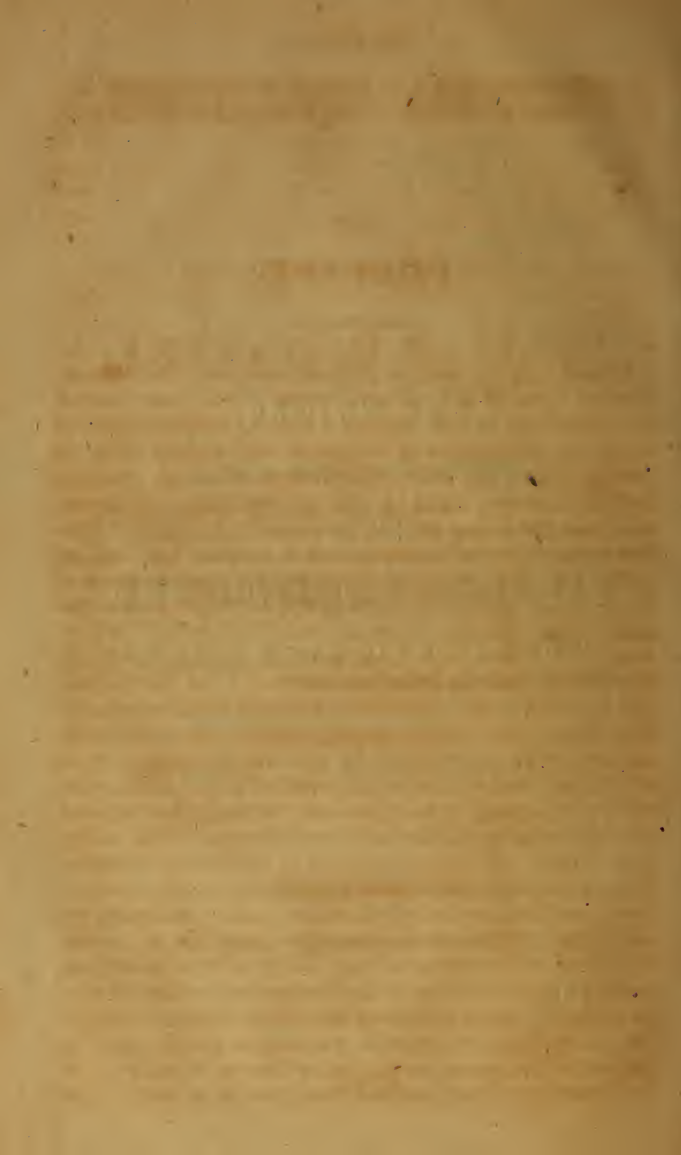
DISTRICT OF MARYLAND, TO WIT :

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twentieth day of October, Anno Domini, 1842, *William H. Handey*, of said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the title of which is in the words following, to wit:—"POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM; by *William H. Handey*, of Hagerstown, Maryland." The right whereof he claims as author, in conformity with an act of Congress, entitled, "An act to amend the several acts respecting copy-rights."

THOS. SPICER, Clerk of the District.

C. C. Jan 29, 19.

THE WRITER
DEDICATES THIS WORK
TO THE
FARMERS AND MECHANICS,
WHO BY THEIR AVOCATIONS
ARE AS CLOSELY CONNECTED IN INTEREST,
AS TWIN BROTHERS IN BLOOD.



PREFACE.

Considering the number of books and periodicals extant, treating upon all the various subjects which have presented themselves to the onward march of minds—many of them the productions of authors of the highest order of talents, genius, and the greatest weight of moral character and philanthropy, aided by classical education, and historical research—it may well be questioned whether this addition to the countless number, is not uncalled for, and superfluous. The writer is aware that his mental faculties are ordinary, and that he is deficient in education and acquirements. Deeply impressed with the force of the foregoing considerations, he abandoned his intentions of writing a book, after he had nearly completed the first chapter. But it subsequently occurred to him that whilst many persons require meat, others can only subsist upon milk—that majestic rivers are formed by the contributions of small tributaries—that the sea is composed of drops, and that the earth is composed of particles, many so small that they can only be seen by the aid of a microscope, whilst others more minute, can alone be viewed by the eye of reason—that matter and motion are inseparably connected, are composing and de-composing, producing, and by mutation, reproducing. Whilst we can have no conception of the existence of mind without a body, every sober-minded man must be sensible that mind and matter were united for useful purposes, which cannot be carried out without an effort. The industrious husbandman who prepares and seeds his ground in due season, is not certain that he will reap ; but he knows that if he does not sow, he cannot reap. It is

then the duty of every rational man to make an effort, in proportion to the means within his reach, to add something to moral or physical *production*. Cannot the effort be made without vanity, unworthy motives, or arrogant ambition, and without questioning the motives of those who differ in opinion with the writer? He answers in the affirmative.

Aware of human imperfection, from which he is not exempt—knowing that the Christian and the Mussulman are alike sincere in their religious sentiments, each believing that he is strictly right, and the other wholly wrong—it is not wonderful that, in the United States, where the mind is left free to think and to act, an honest difference of opinion should exist in reference to National and State policy. He is aware that it is difficult to convince an intelligent man that he is in error in reference to long cherished principles—that every rational man, without a single exception, is governed in all his actions, moral and physical, by motives, without which he would be passive and useless to himself and to society—that man is not sufficiently perfect to limit his motives of interest or opinion, in all cases, to that principle which has an equal tendency to promote his own happiness, and the good of those with whom he is associated; he is nevertheless persuaded that neither the Christian nor the Mussulman wishes to be misled or deceived upon any subject whatever. As it is impossible that any well meaning man would intentionally mislead or deceive others, it would be unreasonable to suppose that all men are governed by unworthy motives; he therefore hopes, that what he has composed and copied, will be read without prejudice.

The writer commenced with a determination to avoid any expression calculated to give offence to the reader, to which he adhered throughout. But he was deeply impressed with the fact, that it was as impossible to write as to speak without using words, and that the use of *unmeaning* words, would be a fraud upon his patrons. If the reader consider any expression offensive or uncalled for, he is authorized to withdraw it, with an assurance that it was unintentional. If the writer cannot please, he has no de-

sire to offend. He is sensible of the obligations he is under to the highly respectable and intelligent community in which he resides—that many, perhaps all, with whom he is acquainted, subscribed for the work, more from motives of kindness to the writer, than with the expectation of being benefited by perusing it.

In referring to the measures of political parties, he has not impeached the motives of any. In reference to matters of *fact*, he has labored to be strictly correct—to present truth as fairly and fully, as the documents and other means within his reach would enable him. If the arguments advanced, and conclusions drawn are heterodox, their refutation is easy, and is invited.

He is not aware, nor does he believe, that he has advanced sentiments or arguments which never suggested themselves to any other person; but he does say that the sentiments and arguments, not marked as quotations, are with him original, although some of them, in substance, previously appeared in print—this explanation is deemed necessary to protect him from the charge of plagiarism. He has given to the political parties the distinctive names they claim, for the same reasons that he addresses individuals by their proper names and titles. If there are any errors in relation to matters of fact, they are unintentional, and attributable to the limited means within his reach, to refer to documents, and to the fact that he had no aid in writing or compiling. With these introductory remarks he introduces the reader to the “POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM.”



POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM.

CHAPTER I.

On different forms of government, with miscellaneous observations.

Party names are not only convenient, but indispensable. We might as well undertake to dispense with the names of individuals, as with the names of political parties. "Stick to your party," is a term frequently used by politicians without any qualification whatever; and sometimes with powerful effect. It is not the writer's intention to impeach the motives of all who avail themselves of the force of a party name to elect their ticket, or to use language calculated to give offence to the most sensitive mind. It matters not whether the name of one's neighbor is Cain or Abel. If mother Eve had named her first born Abel and her second son Cain, it is certain wicked Abel would have murdered righteous Cain. There was nothing murderous in the name of either brother; the sanguinary disposition was in the *man*, not in the name. Individuals are to be judged by their words and acts, not by their names; and invariably ought the same rule to be applied to political parties. The oath which a representative takes, to support the constitution, is, or ought to be, equally as binding upon him to support the general good and public welfare without regard to party names. The writer has long entertained and frequently expressed the opinion, that a politician who is not governed by the dictates of reason and the teachings of experience, with the single object to the general welfare and the attainment of the greatest earthly blessings and benefits, acts ungratefully towards the Creator, who bestowed upon him the principle of REASON, and a bodily FORM suited to intelligence, and both intended to enable him to protect

and enjoy his natural and acquired rights, and secure to those with whom he is associated the same blessings.— That form of government which produces the greatest amount of human happiness and independence, with the lightest burthen and pressure, is preferable to any other; but no form of government can secure to us our natural and acquired rights and render us prosperous and happy, unless honestly administered. No government can be faithfully administered unless it originates in, and is carried out by, the dictates of reason, justice and the teachings of experience. If these guides fail, in vain may we look to *party* for relief. Man is more or less governed in his transactions, political and civil, by his WILL or his JUDGMENT. If these two principles come in opposition to each other, he can never act morally wrong by being governed by his *judgment*, and never in such a contest can he act right if governed by his WILL.

“The political writers of antiquity,” says Blackstone, “will not allow more than three regular forms of government; the first, when the sovereign power is lodged in an aggregate assembly, consisting of all free members of a community, which is called a democracy; the second, when it is lodged in a council, composed of select members, and then it is styled an aristocracy; the last, when it is entrusted in the hands of a single person, and then it takes the name of a monarchy. All other species of government, they say, are either corruptions of, or reducible to, these three.”

When we take into consideration that most of the regular governments upon earth, and all of ancient standing and magnitude,* are monarchical or aristocratic, the irresistible conclusion is, that all governments naturally incline to aristocracy, or monarchy. Ambitious man is more generally influenced by his *will*, than by his *judgment*; in proportion as he gains power, he loses sight of right. His

*The French Revolution only broke the chain in an ancient hereditary form of government. The short duration of the French Republic, commenced with the termination of the reign of one king—was followed by an emperor, and terminated in restoring the government to its former line.

ambitious *will* connected with a political *party*, becomes daily more active and determined, until his judgments are overwhelmed, and he sinks or swims with his party ; and will only yield to the superior numbers of an opposing one which may be influenced by no better principles than his own.

From the formation of our Republic to the present day, the people have been, (with the exception of a short period, commencing towards the close of Mr. Monroe's first presidential term,) divided into two great political parties ; in both of which there are, and always have been, subdivisions, so nearly equal in numbers, as to leave the two chief parties to attack and repel each other with a violence not perceivably broken by the subdivisions in the arms of either of the political beligerants. During the violent and bitter struggles between the two great contending parties, it is reasonable to suppose that each occasionally did the other injustice ; and that by the triumph of one of them, sound and wholesome principles were occasionally sacrificed. The spread of intelligence, and the onward march of mind, may, and it is hoped will, define the leading principles upon which parties will split. They are inseparably connected with a Republican form of government : it is as impossible that one can exist without the other, in a wide extended country, as it is impossible that mind can exist without a body.

In the political parties which have heretofore existed, there always were in each, and it is to be believed there ever will be found, men of the highest order of intellectual faculties, patriotic principles, and able statesmen possessing the proper qualifications to discharge the duties of the various and necessary stations connected with our representative democratic form of government. That there have been prominent party demagogues, will not be denied by any candid man, who is intelligent upon the subject. Under a government like ours, which leaves the human mind free to think and to act, with no legal restraints, except such as come under the general heads of felony, breach of the peace, misdemeanor and trespass, the demagogue and the statesman will occasionally come into collision, and the

former may triumph. The greatest, perhaps the only security we have for the continuance and purity of our democratic form of government, rests with the body of the people, or with that portion who neither *seek* nor *desire* office. They constitute a large majority in this and in every other country, and are the working and producing classes; and if they should ever become corrupt, or should be misled and deceived by demagogues, our Republican form of government would be in danger, and could only be preserved, by a return to sound principles and correct views on the part of the people.

There is an unlimited confidence, in the integrity and purity of intention of the body of the people of the United States, and especially in that large and useful portion, that desire the welfare of their country rather than the spoils of a victorious partyism. In a political point of view, they are honest; but purity of intention does not always afford absolute security against the designs of demagogues and tyrants. It is adverse to the interest of the working class to be politically dishonest, and consequently that class will never knowingly be politically wrong or act from improper motives. Industry is as certainly the parent of moral and political honesty as is idleness the parent of vicious habits and crime. It may here be remarked, that such are the industrious habits of a large majority of the working class—particularly in the non-slaveholding states—that they seldom rest from their labor, except on the Sabbath, or when from necessity they repose in sleep. Consequently this class must possess less political and useful information than that who devote most of their time to reading, travelling and to conversational intercourse. It follows, then, that the latter class must necessarily possess an advantage over the former in point of intelligence; and which enables them to act with a power so great, as frequently to mislead and FLEECE the majority. To the unholy use of this advantage, more than to any other cause, may be traced the origin of all aristocratic and monarchical forms of government; and the special attention of the reader is asked to the consideration of the question: How is this to be remedied? Are the human family to withdraw from the cultivation of

the earth to acquire knowledge by reading and discussion ? Certainly not. But as government is indispensable to support our natural and acquired rights, and as government cannot be supported without revenue, every man, in paying a tax, surrenders a portion of his property for the protection of the remainder, and for the security of his rights ; and ought he not to devote a reasonable portion of his time for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, & acquainting himself with the measures of those who are entrusted with the reins of government ? In all forms of government, power is vested in the hands of the *few*, whose ambition to continue in office and rule over the *many*, has a tendency to *intrigue* and *corruption*. It therefore requires vigilance and intelligence on the part of the constituency, to watch their public servants, examine their measures, with a view to prevent them from changing their relative position from that of public servants to that of political masters. The following extract from the first annual address of the Father of his country, will commend itself ; first, from the source from which it is derived, and secondly, from the sentiments expressed.

“Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways : by convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government, is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people ; and by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights ; to discern and provide against invasions of them ; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority ; between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society ; to discriminate the spirit of liberty, from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and

uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws."

If the means recommended by the Father of his country were necessary to preserve the integrity and purity of the government at the period of its organization, by a union of wisdom and valor, unsurpassed in any age or nation, is not an adherence to the sentiments advanced, necessary at this and all future periods. For more than forty years, every Presidential contest, with one exception, has been decided by drawing the party line; and measures have frequently been lost sight of, or misrepresented in the bitterness in which the parties have assailed and repelled each other.—The extract contains more good sense than could be found in a volume of party and inflammatory speeches, which have been delivered in Congress in support of party, without even a reference to the public good. Every unprejudiced and attentive reader of the debates in Congress, for a number of years past, must have observed, that the speeches have generally been in support of one party and in derogation of another. Instead of attempting to gain the confidence of the people by wise and wholesome measures, the object was to rally them in party strife. If the people objected to a measure and assigned reasons for their opposition to it, they were told that it was a leading and high party measure and they were called upon to support it upon that principle. How different in character and spirit were the debates in Congress during the Revolution and in the Convention which formed the Constitution. Different opinions among the members of those bodies, created an honest enquiry and led to an impartial examination of the different sentiments expressed; and with the single purpose of promoting the general good. Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, written towards the close of the Revolution, uses this language.

"From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights.

The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long—will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion.”

The predictions of Mr. Jefferson have been fulfilled to an alarming extent. We have several times been on the verge of dissolution.

The writer's political principles were formed at an early period of life and he is not aware that they have undergone a shadow of change. They are democratic so far as democratic principles are practicable in all the branches of the government, except only the Judiciary. He not only prefers a democratic form of government to any other, but considers it the only rational form of government upon earth. A government strictly democratic, would not be convenient and scarcely practicable in a territory as large and populous as Washington county; and wholly impracticable for the state of Maryland, or the Union. Because, it would do away the representative feature, and require all the voters to assemble in council and pass all laws by a majority of the whole body of voters; and the same is related to repealing or amending previous laws.—They would be impracticable except in a very small community; and, if attempted to be carried out in a large one, would produce confusion and anarchy, and reduce the whole to a state of *chaos*. Some men, no doubt well disposed, seem to think that democracy has a direct reference to mild, just and equitable laws,—that democracy and equity are synonymous terms, and travel side by side, like those united by the ties of mutual affection and the laws of matrimony. But there would be as much sense in saying that because marriage is a divine, holy and honorable institution,—sanctioned and recommended by all civilized nations, that all who are married must live in unalloyed happiness, striving for the equal benefit and comfort of each other,—as to say that all laws enacted and carried out by a democratic form of government, with or without the representative feature, would secure equal benefits and blessings to all, and place the minority on an equality with the majority. A democratic form of government, can only be carried out practi-

cally by the majority ruling; and all laws enacted by the majority must be laws of the democracy—the democracy is the majority and the majority is the democracy. A democracy may proscribe and oppress the minority as much as any other form of government whatever. Under a democratic form and administration of government, laws might be enacted providing that every deformed infant and every male who on arriving at lawful age did not measure a specified height should be put to death. If such laws were passed and carried into effect in their fullest extent by the *majority*, they would be the laws of the *democracy*. If it be asked if such laws would be consistent with the spirit of democracy, the answer is that the true meaning and spirit of democracy is that the will of the *majority*, (not the *minority*) shall rule whether it be in blood or in mercy. Democracy does not even provide for uniformity of laws. Every State in the Union is under a democratic form of government retaining the representative feature; and yet in no two states are the laws alike, and in some, (perhaps in most of them) they are not uniform throughout the State. In Washington and some other counties in Maryland, the cutting and carrying away of hoop-poles, by any person not the owner of the land is a penitentiary offence; and there has been in the neighboring county of Frederick, at least one conviction under this law;—in other counties in this State it is a mere trespass, for which the owner can only recover on a civil suit for damages. In no two counties in Maryland, it is believed, are the laws uniform throughout.

Mr. Jefferson uses the following language in his first Inaugural address:—

“I know indeed that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong—that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world’s best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself;—I trust not—I believe this, on the contrary to be the strongest government on earth—I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the

law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern."

With deference to the opinions of Mr. Jefferson, my own observation, for more than thirty years, has impressed upon my mind that a republican form of government is either the weaker or is less energetic in the use of its means to preserve its laws, and quell insurrections and internal commotions, than any other form of government—that *its materials for self PRESERVATION and self DESTRUCTION* are nearly balanced, and to speak figuratively it is more likely to expire by *SUICIDE* than in any other way. The legally constituted laws have been forcibly resisted; groups of one or two thousand men have been seen in the day time deliberately pulling down houses and destroying the furniture; we have had insurrections; and how have they been met and subdued? Proclamations accompanied by pardons to all those who would desist and respect the constituted laws—the military have been called out and marched into the territories in which the insurgents had successfully resisted the laws—the sword presented in one hand and a pardon in the other. A few persons have been arrested and imprisoned as the ring leaders of mobs and rebellions, yet we have never had a conviction for treason and few have been in any way punished for forcibly resisting the laws. While some have termed those violent measures and prostration of law and order, mobocracy and rebellion, others have termed them democratic associations, patriotically taking the law into their own hands with a view of redressing a real or supposed injury or repealing an obnoxious law without the aid of the Legislature. Under some forms of government such democratic movements would be subdued by shooting or hanging. If an individual is convicted of robbing a hen-roost or pig-sty he is sent to the Penitentiary; but if a mob pulls down a house and destroys the furniture, the leaders are generally pardoned and the rest considered misguided citizens, by some, and by others, the democracy acting independent of law.

In the foregoing it is utterly and truly disclaimed by the writer that there is any allusion or application to either of the great political parties into which the people are divided.

Likewise is it truly denied that the foregoing remarks apply to any political party which ever existed in the U. States. The body of the people are, and ever were, democratic in their principles. The powerful party who once called themselves Jacksonians, and claimed no other name, were as democratic at *that* time as they now are under their new title. That there always were in every political party which has existed since the formation of government, demagogues and agitators, no doubt can be entertained. Such characters can act with more effect under a republican form of government than under any other.

Our republican form of government would be as strong, if not stronger, in a war with a foreign nation than any other form. Because, in addition to national patriotism, every man would be desirous to preserve our political institutions, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson—"every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own concern." In a war between two nations, one under a republican and the other under an aristocratic or monarchical form of government, victory on the part of the latter, would be to continue the monarchical yoke and rivet it more firmly on the necks of the mass of the people: whereas, defeat might deliver them from bondage and bestow upon them the blessing of a free government and its attendant benefits. Under a democratic form of government the human mind is left free to think and act, and in proportion as the mental faculties are developed, the people become more divided in matters of *opinion*, and in their ambition and energy to support their opinions, they become excitable. And there ever will be demagogues and Jacobins who will act upon the excitable matter, and labour to fan it into a flame, regardless of consequences or desirous to obtain office.

If ever our republican form of government be dissolved, (which heaven forbid,) it will proceed from internal commotion, produced by agitators who will labour to inflame the public mind, prevent dispassionate reason and argument to act; produce passion and prejudice; array one portion of the country against another and produce a dissolution of the Union. As to the United States ever being conquered

by any foreign nation or combination of foreign powers, if not wholly impossible, is so improbable as to leave nothing to fear from foreign nations; but if the confederacy should ever be divided, and separate and distinct governments created, one at a time might be engaged in war with one or more European nations; or the separate nations formed out of our Union might be at war with each other. Let us suppose that our federal head should, by the mutual consent of all the states, be decapitated, and the public property owned by the confederacy equally divided among the several states in proportion to population. Each State would then be a separate and sovereign nation; but would not the sovereignty and independence of all be in danger? One of the most powerful of the European nations might conquer and colonize one of the largest *American nations*, or from internal commotion it might be drenched in blood; and the fate of one State would be a presage to the fate of all. In the foregoing he has supposed that each State, on becoming a sovereign and independent nation, retained its democratic form of government. Its excitable matter and its demagogues would therefore be in proportion to its population, and its organs of self-destruction would be operated upon by political Phrenologists, who would labour to prove the truth of the science of phrenology.

But whilst we are united by the Constitution to our federal head, we will at all times unite as do the feet and hands in locomotion and labour, and at the call of the general government march, fight and expel from our shores foreign invaders. Although war is to be deprecated, and although it would be a blessing if the principles of Quakerism were immovably planted in the breast of every human being, and pass to posterity; nations and individuals must be viewed as they really are, and not as they ought to be. The internal commotions, and increased violent resistance to the regularly constituted laws, must be considered with awful forebodings by every intelligent and unprejudiced man who has seriously weighed the subject in his mind. What would be the consequence if all laws throughout a State were suspended for twenty-four hours, and no one ever afterwards to be responsible for his transactions during that

period? Can any sober-minded man doubt that that day would be characterized by rapine, murder, carnage and brutal violence, at the contemplation of which every well regulated mind would sicken. Although laws enacted by the impartial wisdom of a state or nation, and with the single object of promoting the general good and public welfare, may, in some respects, have an unequal bearing; yet, in the language of president Jackson, in his second annual message: "It is beyond the power of man to make a system of government like ours, or any other, operate with precise equality upon states situated like those which compose this confederacy; NOR IS INEQUALITY ALWAYS INJUSTICE.— Every state cannot expect to shape the measures of the general government to suit its own particular interest. The causes which prevent it are seated in the nature of things, and cannot be entirely counteracted by human means.— Mutual forbearance becomes, therefore, a duty obligatory upon all; and we may, I am confident, count upon a cheerful compliance with this high injunction on the part of our constituents. It is not to be supposed that they will object to make such comparatively inconsiderable sacrifices for the preservation of rights and privileges, which other less-favored portions of the world have in vain waded through seas of blood to acquire."

President Jackson said many wise things, and the writer stands among those who admire his maxims, and disapprove of some of his measures, without questioning his motives. The bearing which the laws of Congress has upon the states, is similar to the bearing of the laws of a state upon individuals; and if inequality existed in some cases it might not be "injustice," but wholly attributable to local causes or sectional feeling which no human laws could remove.— Our democratic form of government presents the anomaly of want of strength or energy to cause its internal laws to be respected, or to punish those who violently resist them and endanger life and liberty; but strength, energy and valor proportioned to the numbers to contend with a foreign foe. Proof of this was given during the late war with Great Britain. A powerful minority was opposed to the declaration of that war, and the opposition to it increased, until

the enemy captured Washington, destroyed the Capitol and other public property. That event caused the people to unite throughout the Union in support of the war; party spirit was buried in patriotism and valor; both parties fought shoulder to shoulder, emulated by the single principle of eclipsing each other in soldiery and daring enterprize: the national pride and physical strength of the nation were developed in proportion to the pressure upon it, and the star-spangled banner was never struck on land or sea to an equal force. The following sentiment by Commodore Decatur, a federalist, was responded to by acclamation throughout the Union as applicable to a state of war:—

“My country—in her intercourse with foreign nations, may she be right; and may she be successful right or wrong.”

The success of our arms by sea and land and the united determination of the nation to support the war, until an honorable peace could be obtained, hastened a return of that desirable object, and the moral and physical effect of that war upon the nation, may be compared to the effect of a thunder-storm upon the atmosphere, which renders it more pure and healthy. The result of the late war with England developed the strength of a democratic form of government to assert and cause its rights to be respected by foreign nations; and whilst we hold the olive branch of peace and friendly intercourse, upon just principles, in one hand, and the sword of resistance in the other, our rights will never be trampled upon with impunity by foreign powers. In the appropriate language of Mr. Jefferson, we shall in a contest with a foreign nation be “ALL REPUBLICANS, ALL FEDERALISTS.” And in the language of Gen. Jackson in his letter to President Monroe, dated January 6, 1817, *Niles’ Register*, vol. 26, page 167—“party names of themselves, are but bubbles, and sometimes used for the most wicked purposes.”

The remark that party names are “sometimes used for the most wicked purposes,” was at *that* time appropriate, has subsequently been, and may be again. Mr. Monroe had just been elected by a party vote. At the presidential election of 1816, just after the conclusion of the late war, the republicans and federalists were bitterly arrayed against

each other, but Mr. Monroe was elected by a large majority, which was the last contest between the two old republican and federal parties for the presidency. Gen. Jackson, discriminating between party *names* and *principles*, recommended Col. Drayton, a talented federalist as a suitable character for Secretary of War, and approved of the appointment of John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State. Page 168. Mr. Adams, it is known, formerly belonged to the federal party; but withdrew in 1807, and was afterwards denounced by them generally. After he withdrew from the federal party he was appointed by Mr. Madison minister to Russia, and continued at the Russian court until Mr. Monroe was elected president, when he was appointed by Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, which appointment was highly approved of by Gen. Jackson, as will appear on reference to the page and volume referred to. Gen. Jackson when he came into power acted in accordance with his recommendation to Mr. Monroe, and in making selections for his cabinet, foreign ministers, the judiciary, and other important stations, he was mindful of that portion of the *ultra* federal party, who were as zealous in support of his election, as they were bitter in their opposition to the administrations of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison. Messrs. Buchanan, Louis McLean, Taney, Wilkins, Balwin and many other federalists, of the first order of intelligence and prominence, were placed in the highest offices in his gift. His party consisted of those who *supported* him; and his administration was INTELLECTUAL and personal—not POLITICAL, as related to republicans and federalists, as parties had previously arranged themselves. The reader will draw his conclusions from the facts which are stated—the motives of General Jackson, or those who supported him, are not called in question.

For years past a strong and increasing disposition has been manifested to elect, by the popular voice and direct vote of the people, independent of, and without the agency of the Legislature, all civil and military officers; all persons having power and authority, or the exercise of any privilege not possessed by each and every individual. It is earnestly submitted to the serious, unprejudiced and solemn consid-

eration of every man, whether the principles contended for, if carried out, would not *weaken the moral, political and physical power of the mass of the people*: LESSEN THE SECURITY FOR LIFE, LIBERTY, THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS AND THE RIGHT TO ACQUIRE AND POSSESS PROPERTY.— Might not the frequency of popular elections, the vast number of persons to be elected by the popular voice, be carried to a ruinous extreme? Is there no wholesome medium? no equilibrium? no checks and balances? no appointing power necessary? These questions are worthy of the serious consideration of EVERY MAN IN THE NATION. It will be admitted by all that knowledge is progressive; or that it is only acquired by the exercise of our senses. Why, then, is it necessary that the federal government and each state government should be bound by a written Constitution, and every civil and military officer bound by an oath or affirmation to support it before he enters upon his duty— if the people can at all times secure their natural and acquired rights, and preserve order and harmony by a direct appeal to the ballot boxes? If it be said that the Constitution of every state in the Union provides means for amendments, or that the right to amend or abolish one Constitution, and form another, is inherent in the people, the question then presents itself, why not exercise the right at every popular election, untrammelled by a previous Constitution? The only correct answer which suggests itself to the mind of the writer—and which is of more than thirty years standing—is this: that a convention chosen by the people for the exclusive purpose of framing a Constitution for the government and protection of themselves and posterity, would act with more deliberation, impartiality and sound judgment than an excited or infuriated populace, divided into political parties, and labouring to defeat each other at the polls, with the ultimate object of turning one party out of office and putting another in. It, therefore, becomes necessary to have a Constitution to be alike binding on every party.

It has often been said that the more simple the construction of a machine, or the forms of government, the better. Both must be taken in a qualified sense—avoiding the ex-

treme in both cases. If we fall short or go beyond an equilibrium, the machine or the form of government will be more or less imperfect. A machine cannot be too simple, provided it answers the purposes for which it was intended, and leaves no room for amendment. Just so with the forms of government. Now, for the sake of argument, suppose that the more simple the parts of a machine, or the forms of government, the better. It then follows that a sled or sledge, being more simple than a wagon or any wheel carriage, is preferable at all seasons of the year, and that the invention of wheel carriages has been injurious.—Next to a simple form of government, an absolute monarchy is certainly the most simple form of government upon earth, or of which we can have any conception; and is, at the same time, the most unreasonable and unjust; because it concentrates all power and authority at the disposal of one man. And as he cannot govern a nation by consent of the governed, he entrenches himself by military power, and governs by an iron arm of despotism; not by the force of reason or moral means; and preserves and strengthens his simple and despotic form of government by enforcing obedience to his will. Those appointed by the monarch to carry out his edicts, will never fail to have sufficient inducements to obey his will in the affluent situations in which he places them; and those who hold the sword and the purse never govern by moral means—the purse and the sword will supersede reason and argument.

No principles are too sacred for examination, or too holy to be understood. Man may *discover* the fundamental principles which govern the planetary system, but he cannot *create* or change them. THE GREAT PRINCIPLES which govern it, must be as old as matter, and must have existed before the organization of the universe. By the application of immutable laws, matter in a state of *chaos*, was moulded into revolving worlds. The mechanical order and harmony which prevail throughout the planetary system, present to the mind the proper application and effect of attraction and repulsion, gravity, checks and balances; so graduated as to produce an equilibrium and give motion and harmony to matter for wise purposes. The conclusion

is arrived at, if the writer may use the expression, that the planetary system is governed by a constitution which, if dissolved, the planets would rush together with a violence which would reduce them to their original state of *chaos*;—or they would fly off in straight lines with a velocity which would presently separate them so far from each other as to deprive them of light and heat. As it is self evident to every intelligent and enquiring man, that the order and harmony which prevail throughout the motions of the heavenly bodies—some turning in fixed orbits with a velocity of many thousand miles per hour, whilst others turn on their axis only—are produced by a combination of principles, so applied as to produce an equilibrium extending throughout the whole planetary system, does not the human family require constitutions and laws to govern them? If, then, inanimate matter, which is destitute of intelligence, cannot be trusted without being subjected to a code of statute laws, checks and balances, to produce and preserve order and harmony, are not checks and balances necessary to produce and preserve order and harmony among men who are versatile—governed by their will or their judgment? The first is generally selfish and founded in interested motives, and the latter is frequently imperfect. To preserve, then, order, harmony, and uniformity in the principles and forms of government, and laws, throughout a state or nation, it is necessary that the whole body of voters should speak and act through legislative bodies, composed of representatives chosen by them at the polls. As it would be impracticable for the democracy, *i. e.*, the body of voters, even in one of the smallest states, to meet in mass, and form themselves into a legislative body, the representative principle then suggests itself as the only alternative in a democratic form of government. If the representatives from any county of a state, or section of a nation, brought with them a disposition to oppress the *minority* who opposed their election, and who might have been influenced by principles and motives as correct and wholesome, or even more so, than those who voted for them, they could not carry out their selfish and unholy intentions, without obtaining the vote of a majority of both branches of the Leg-

islature. This could seldom, if ever, occur; and human wisdom cannot devise means so well calculated to prevent a *majority* from oppressing a *minority*, as is presented by the representatives of the people chosen by themselves—formed into two legislative bodies, and requiring a majority in each branch to pass each and every law, no matter how local in its bearing. Add to all this, any law passed by the Legislature may peaceably be submitted to the Judicial investigation as to its constitutionality. If government, thus organized, is too complex, can it be simplified and improved by choosing all civil and military officers, or persons vested with authority, by the direct vote of the people over whom they are to preside? (Reader, pause and reflect! Respect for your intelligence and purity of intention, forbids a minute discussion and illustration of every sentiment and principle advanced. And the writer fears that he may have the appearance of underrating your intelligence and reasoning faculties, by too much argument. Such is his taste for brevity and respect for your understanding, as to impress upon his mind the propriety of expressing himself in as few words as his imperfect knowledge of language will allow him.)

But the question has been frequently asked, are not the people as competent to choose the minor officers of government and all those connected with it, executive and judicial, as they are to choose the president and vice president of the United States? He answers that, upon abstract principles, they are equally competent in either, or in any case. The people are of right the sovereigns and the only legitimate source of power; and it is their solemn duty to exercise it in a way best calculated to preserve their sovereignty, and secure their natural and acquired rights, with the least inconvenience; to do which, organized government is indispensable. But one president, only, can serve at a time, and he presides over the Union, with limited and defined powers. He is chosen through the intervention of electors, who are elected by a general ticket in every state in the Union, except South Carolina, in which the electors are chosen by the Legislature. Gen. Jackson proposed an amendment to the Constitution so as to choose the

President without the intervention of electors, preserving the same relative votes in the states. The writer has but one objection to that mode, which he will state with deference to the opinion of Gen. Jackson. Suppose that just on the eve of the election one of the candidates for the presidency should die, but his death not be known beyond the neighborhood or district in which he resided, until after the close of the election throughout the Union, which might be on the same day: suppose, secondly, that an overwhelming majority of all the voters and of the states had been cast for the deceased candidate, in such a case the will of the people would be defeated; and, unless a Constitutional provision was made for such a contingency, the consequence might be serious. But, through the agency of electors, the will of the people could be so far carried out as to choose for president an individual entertaining the same sentiments and principles of the deceased candidate. Again: one of the candidates for the presidency might die, a week or two before the election, in time for his death to be known to every voter before a vote was cast, but not in time for the friends of the deceased to select and agree upon a candidate, and in which case the sentiments and principles of an overwhelming majority might be defeated, and a small *minority* succeed in electing a President.— That no such case as the writer has supposed, has taken place, is no evidence that such a case never will occur. Should our political institutions be preserved through time, it is more than probable, almost certain, that just such a case as is supposed will occur. The amendment proposed by Gen. Jackson, would, if it had been adopted, have constituted a *change* in the Constitution, but not a REFORM. The amendment proposed could not be productive of any good, but might be productive of great inconvenience and mischief. The writer frequently expressed his admiration of many, not all, of the maxims and recommendations of president Jackson, but his recommendation of an amendment of the Constitution in relation to the election of president and vice president, confirms his opinion of the truth of the adage, "that a great man may speak and act unwisely." It will be recollected that Mr. Jefferson once

entertained the opinion, that a navy of gun-boats was better adapted to our national defence and to the genius of our political institutions, than frigates and ships of the line; but in the true spirit of an honest statesman, he yielded his theory to the teachings of experience. The writer is as decidedly in favor of REFORM in every thing which can be *improved*, as any man in existence; but the reader will agree with him, that every *change* in a constitution or form of government is not, or may not be a REFORM, and that what one man would pronounce a *reform*, another would consider a positive *evil*. How then is a case of this nature to be settled, so as to decide which measure would be a reform and which would be an evil? The answer is easy and at hand; collect the sentiments of the entire people of the state or nation, through representatives chosen by the voters, and assemble the representatives in council.—Although some of the voters might choose their representatives under the influence of great excitement, the voters in a majority of the counties might act and vote deliberately. But suppose that the voters throughout a state or nation should cast their votes when in a high state of excitement and passion;—their representatives, when assembled in council, might be calm, calculating, and deliberative; but suppose that the representatives carried with them into the legislative halls, the same excited feelings and principles of the voters on the day of the election; (the writer has supposed an extreme case—one scarcely supposable; but he will consider the case as having actually taken place;) the furious delegates representing every county in a state, or district in a nation, would bring with them conflicting sectional interests, which could only be settled by a compromise; this would lead to a better temper, and if good feeling was not fully restored, the different conflicting sectional interests would force a compromise and agreement. A legislative body thus composed might be compared to several individuals, bitter enemies to each other, placed in a boat supplied with oars, and launched in a boisterous sea, a distance from shore, and driven further from it by the tempest; if they united in their efforts, they might succeed in rowing the boat to land, and every foot gained would

lessen the danger and render the labour easier; but if they made no effort to save themselves, inevitable destruction would be the consequence, unless they received aid from some other source.

Utterly disclaiming any personal allusion, or application to any political party, every jacobin disorganizer is a professed reformer; there is not an exception. He labours to captivate by the imposing term, REFORM, without defining or illustrating his principles; and to excite, by presenting imaginary evils, or magnifying real ones; urges the populace to forcible resistance to the laws, in place of peaceable and legal correctives. Between extremes there is as certainly a just and wholesome medium as it is certain that there is a centre to a circle; and if, in the formation of government, we run into extremes, we lose or weaken the necessary checks and balances; and, in proportion, as we depart from an equilibrium, the different branches of government are in danger of disuniting and producing disorder and confusion. The city of Baltimore, and each county, sends one senator; one-third of these senators are chosen every two years. The city, and each county, sends delegates, annually elected, varying in number from three to five each, in accordance with a provision of the Constitution, having regard to territory and population. Suppose the senator and delegates from said city, and each county, acted independently of each other, and the laws and regulations for the city of Baltimore wholly enacted by the senator and delegates chosen for said city—and the same in relation to each county—would any soberminded and deliberative man say that such an amendment to the Constitution would be a REFORM? And, yet, the question might be asked, what right has the senator and delegates from Worcester county—bounded by the sea-shore—to vote on any bill of a *local* nature, introduced by the senator and delegates of Washington county for the special use and benefit of the people of said county? The answer is: for just the same wholesome reason that the senator and delegates of Washington county have to vote on a local bill for the use and benefit of the people of Worcester, and to keep up an equilibrium and prevent a dissolution of government.

Barring against an extreme, the more counties a state is divided into the less will be the disposition and power of the majority to proscribe the minority—the greater the disposition to compromise and legislate upon enlightened, liberal and just principles. If the number of counties in Maryland were doubled—forty in place of twenty—adhering to the same number of senators and delegates as at present; giving each county one or more delegates, in proportion to population; and forming the counties into twenty-one senatorial districts, sending, each, one senator; it would be an improvement. Conflicting interest, divided by forty-one instead of twenty-one, would be more easily compromised upon just principles. The conflicting interests between the marine and sub-marine sections of the state would be easily approached from the centre, and mountains reduced to mole hills, and difficulties submerged in a spirit of compromise approaching as near as possible to an equilibrium. Those representatives whose interests were nearly alike, would act as arbitrators between those whose interests were so very different, whilst the latter would hold a wholesome controlling power and check over their arbitrators. The centre representatives in a state thus situated might be compared to the main-spring of a watch; and those remote from it, to the machinery connected with it; and interest would dictate to all the absolute necessity of compromise and mutual forbearance upon just principles.

To protect, alike, as well the natural and acquired rights of rich and poor; preserve order and harmony—without which life is insecure—it is as necessary that the different branches of government should be connected with each other, to unite strength and durability, as it is necessary that the different materials which form the body and interior of a house should be cemented, bound and riveted together, to secure the lives and comfort of the inmates. In the former case, the body of the people is the foundation upon which the moral and political structure should be reared, with due regard to checks and balances and equilibriums, to prevent the structure from warping. A just medium should be observed; avoiding extremes—having respect to safety and durability as well as beauty of theory.

Without an appointing power, created by the people, there will be a want of deliberation. The writer is as decidedly in favour as any man is of electing, by the popular voice, the president and vice-president, members of the H. of R. of the United States, governors of the states, both branches of the Legislature, and sheriffs; to which some other persons, to be clothed with authority, might be added without weakening the moral and physical strength of the PEOPLE, or rendering their rights less secure. But there is certainly a medium; and if the people fall short of it, or go beyond it, they weaken their strength and endanger their rights.

It has been said that to appoint judges of courts, county clerks, registers of wills, justices of the peace, &c. &c., by the Legislature, deprives the poor man of his right to vote. There would be as much sense and truth in saying that it deprives the rich man of the same right. Persons appointed to office by the Legislature are not elected by the direct vote of rich or poor, and both are placed upon the same footing—a proposition plain enough for a man of the most moderate comprehension, and the writer will offer no arguments in support of a self-evident fact. If the writer was to suggest an amendment to the Constitution, in reference to judges, it would be to insert a provision prohibiting any judge of a court from sitting in the county or district in which he resides. The less intercourse or acquaintance a judge has with the people over whom he presides, the more free will his mind be from bias or prejudice. An unprincipled judge, knowing the principles of law, but not under religious or moral restraint, might, and probably would, give righteous decisions in every case in which he was wholly unacquainted with the parties and the people. A judge thus situated would be governed in his decision upon a question of law by the same principles which govern a tutor in teaching his scholars—the *principles of arithmetic*. In the foregoing, the writer disclaims any personal allusion.—No state in the Union has a judiciary of sounder integrity, or more brilliant talents, than Maryland; and no state, perhaps, has produced a greater number of able jurists.

In concluding this chapter, the writer distinctly says that

he considers a representative democratic form of government, with checks and balances for its preservation, and deriving all its power from the majority of the voters, the only rational form of government upon earth, and the best calculated to preserve the rights of all with the least pressure. Notwithstanding, under a democratic form of government, the majority, which must, necessarily, be the *democracy*, never fail to *proscribe* the *minority* in reference to *offices*, it springs from a trait in human nature to which an exception cannot be produced, except, only, as to the extent of the proscription. Every party, when it constituted the democracy of numbers, proscribed, to a greater or less degree, the minority; but under an aristocratic or monarchical form of government, the minority rule the democracy, and have never failed to proscribe and oppress. It is safer to trust to the democracy than to the minority. The writer cannot conceive that there is either sense or justice in the minority ruling the democracy. If the democracy fail to secure to all the peaceable enjoyment of their natural and acquired rights, in vain may they look for security from a minority. Government, in its best form, is said to be a necessary evil; in its worst form, an intolerable one. The writer will not hazard an opinion as to whether government would, or would not, be necessary, if the whole human family were in a state of perfection. The question is too metaphysical for him; and if it could be shown, he is not aware that its solution would be beneficial to the human family. That the human race is not perfect, and that government is necessary, are admitted.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for a candidate to appear before the people, at a popular election, without identifying himself with a party; but it is the duty of a representative, on reaching a legislative hall, to act with the single object of promoting the general good and public welfare. A representative who would support or oppose any measure upon party ground, without reference to its merit or demerit, would be an unsafe representative, and wholly unworthy of confidence. Representatives should act upon the same principles as jurors. The moral obligation upon them, so to act, is, or ought to be *equally bind-*

ing. If judges and jurors were swayed, in their decisions, by party considerations, courts of justice could only exist in *name*, not in *reality*. "Is he a whig?" or, "Is he a democrat?" is an inquiry frequently made in reference to a candidate, and to which there can be no moral objection. But would not the question, in reference to a *juror*, produce an unpleasant sensation? When the question is asked in reference to a representative, ought it to be understood that he will be governed by party considerations without regard to the interest, happiness and prosperity of the people? A man may properly appear as the candidate of a PARTY, but, if elected, he ought to be the representative of the PEOPLE.

A representative who would not be governed by the teachings of experience and the dictates of his reason—with the single and only motive of advancing the good of all—would be not only an improper, but a dangerous, representative. To err, is human—it is the lot of imperfect man. Unintentional error, though it may and often has produced great evil, is more or less excusable; but no man can be influenced by correct motives who is governed by party considerations in opposition to his own sense of right.

CHAPTER II.

On the Qualification of Voters.

The writer does not know that it will be expected of him to say anything upon the principle of SUFFRAGE; nor is he aware that it is necessary for him to do so. But as he has not, nor ever had, any desire to conceal his sentiments upon any subject connected with politics or anything else, he distinctly says that he does not, nor ever could, believe that it required either *dollars* or *acres* to confer upon a man intellectual faculties; or to make him politically or morally honest; or that his attachment to his country must be in proportion to, or dependent upon, his wealth. Property is

daily passing from those born rich to those born poor; the rich of to-day, are the poor of to-morrow; and the poor of to-day, are the wealthy of to-morrow; many who hold large estates are insolvent; and the prospects of the industrious poor are generally better than the prospects of the wealthy, many of whom raise their children in idleness. The writer will not assert that there are no evils in universal suffrage; but he does say that, in his opinion, and from his observation, when he resided in Virginia, of the practical effect of a strong property qualification, that the evils connected with universal suffrage are less than the evils which grow out of property qualification. Where a property qualification is the requisite, wealthy men can manufacture voters with impunity, and without subjecting themselves to the charge of violating the *letter* or *spirit* of the law.— Suppose it required twenty-five acres of land, or a house and lot in a town, equivalent to it, and a specified length of possession to constitute a voter: the parties in a county or district are nearly equally divided, and an important election will soon take place: a man, deeply interested, owns five hundred acres of land, or more, has a half-dozen sons and sons-in-law, all of lawful age, living on his land: he makes each a deed for the requisite quantity in time to constitute them voters; the deeds are recorded and are valid in law and equity. He might say that he made the deeds for the only purpose of making them voters, and that but for which purpose they never would have owned the land during his life, yet the deeds and their right to vote would be as valid as if they had paid a valuable consideration in money. The same will apply, whether the qualification is in real or personal property, or to quantity or value. The writer was once a member of a committee who measured, with a rule, the size of a dwelling house, in Virginia, to ascertain whether its dimensions, in connection with twenty-five acres of land, were sufficient to constitute the owner a voter. A convention, which assembled in 1830, extended the right of suffrage; but there still exists, in Virginia, a strong property qualification.

On referring to the original constitutions of the old thirteen states, it will appear that the right of suffrage was

more liberal and less restrictive in the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont and New Jersey, than in the others. Females had a right to vote under the original constitution of New Jersey. In Rhode Island, the people have not, as yet, formed a constitution. The charter granted by Charles II, modified to suit their condition after the separation from England, has been adhered to. It is worthy of remark, that the charter granted to the people the right of choosing their governor and representatives—requires no property qualification on the part of the voter. The qualification required since the separation from England, cannot justly be charged to the royal charter, for it requires none, and is, in its general features, more democratic than some of the constitutions of the present day. The suffrage men appear to have contended for the rights granted by the letter and spirit of the charter.

If, at the commencement of the revolution, king George III. had called on Mr. Jefferson to propose and write such a charter of privileges for each of the colonies as would be satisfactory to them, it is not probable that he would have asked more than was granted by Charles II. Because, in his memoirs, first volume, page 150, is a letter, dated Monticello, August 25, 1775, addressed to John Randolph, Esq., (not the eccentric gentleman of that name, who was his bitter reviler in Congress, but a gentleman of that name who resided in Virginia at that time,) in which Mr. Jefferson says:—

“If, indeed, Great Britain, disjointed from her colonies, be a match for the most potent nations of Europe, with the colonies thrown into their scale, they may go on securely. But if they are not assured of this, it would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risk our accepting a foreign aid, which perhaps may be attainable but on condition of everlasting avulsion from G. Britain. This would be thought a hard condition to those who still wish for re-union with their parent country. I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too,

who, rather than to submit to the right of legislating for us, assumed by the British Parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean!"

In another letter, addressed to the same gentleman, page 152, first vol., dated Philadelphia, November 29, 1775, only eight months previous to the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson—at that time a member of the Continental Congress which passed the Declaration of Independence—says:—

"Believe me, dear sir, there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do. But, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose; and, in this, I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is will alone which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our king. One bloody campaign will probably decide everlastingly our future course; I am sorry to find a bloody campaign is decided on. If our winds and waters should not combine to rescue their shores from slavery, and General Howe's reinforcement should arrive in safety, we have hopes he will be inspirited to come out of Boston and take another drubbing; and we must drub him soundly before the sceptred tyrant will know we are no mere brutes, to crouch under his hand, and kiss the rod with which he designs to scourge us."

It appears, then, that eight months previous to the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson preferred reconciliation to separation; and he doubtless spoke the sentiments of the great mass of the American people. His letters to Mr. Randolph are not at variance with the sentiments in the Declaration of Independence. In that venerated and able state paper the cause for dissolving allegiance to the British government is distinctly stated. Had Great Britain repealed the oppressive acts and edicts of which the colonies complained, at an early stage of the revolution it would have ceased; and whether we would now be a free and independent nation, or colonies to Great Britain, is a matter

of opinion. Some have been so illiberal as to cite Mr. Jefferson's letters to Mr. Randolph as proof that he preferred a monarchical to a democratic form of government. But we should take into consideration the comparatively weak state of the colonies compared with the mother country. Notwithstanding the patriotism, valour, military skill, perseverance and patient sufferings of our forefathers were never surpassed, it is by no means certain that they would have succeeded had they not been aided by the French.

If, after the publication of the Declaration, the patriots had failed to gain their liberty, it is more than probable that Washington and all the leaders of the revolution, including the signers of the Declaration, would have been executed, (for an unsuccessful revolution is considered a rebellion,) except, perhaps, Mr. Jefferson, who, by the aid of those letters, in connection with his superior talents, might have escaped. It is believed that Mr. Jefferson, in point of talents and tactics in politics, had not his equal during the revolution—certainly, not his superior. His mind was as comprehensive as powerful; and he viewed both sides of every question which presented itself, and, in his wisdom, prepared for a safe retreat, if not triumphant in the righteous cause in which he was engaged.

CHAPTER III.

On Protective Duties and National Economy.

If all the nations of the earth would abolish, forever, all duties upon importations, and open their ports to each other, indiscriminately, it would, perhaps, increase the intercourse between the individuals of nations which traded most with each other; but the writer is not aware that it would be productive of general good, politically or morally. But it would not be very interesting to the reader to suppose a case, which no reflecting man believes will ever take

place, and then speculate or theorise upon it. It will be more interesting to meet the question as it really is, than to suppose a case which does not nor ever can exist, unless human nature should be radically changed. Modern writers upon national policy, denounce measures of retaliation as unsound in morals, and productive of more evil than good. The objection to retaliating measures must be taken in a qualified sense; otherwise, it is wrong to punish a convicted thief. If a thief steals money or property, he is bound by law, gospel and justice to make restitution; and the modern law, which subjects him to corporeal punishment, is in accordance with the laws of Moses, handed down by Deity. If it be decided that all measures of retaliation are wrong, it follows, upon the same principles, that all wrongs, no matter how unprovoked or grievous, ought to pass unredressed. Those, whose arguments are wholly confined to abstractions, labour to fetter the human mind; because all, or most, abstract questions, or facts, require elucidation. If it should be said that John is 25 and Lucy 18 years old, it is not said by this abstract statement whether they are married or single; virtuous or vicious; and if it is said that the United States and England impose a tariff upon importation, the latter statement, abstractedly, is not more important than the first. But, if it be said, that two or more wrongs cannot make a right, this is admitted; but the writer has yet to learn that it is wrong to punish a thief, or to protect industry, by insuring to the labourer a just compensation for his labour. The labourer has a just right to a compensation equivalent to his comfortable support; and no man is so industrious as to work for nothing rather than to be idle. A government which does not protect, or try to protect, its labouring class, may be compared to a man who does not provide for his family, or to parents who bring up their children in idleness; because, it is a matter of but little consequence as to the *effect*, whether the body of the people are naturally indolent, or whether they cannot obtain labour. In the United States, agriculture, the various branches of mechanism, and commerce, are so connected with, and dependent upon, each other, that it is impossible to prostrate any one, with-

out seriously injuring the others; and an equilibrium can never be kept up by abstractions, without regard to proportions and attendant circumstances. In the foregoing it is not written distinctively of that class generally termed labouring men; neither was it necessary to do so; because, all labour is more or less mechanical. The man who labours with a pen, or he who labours with an axe, hoe, spade, or any other implement, acts more or less mechanically; and, consequently, all labour is more or less connected with mechanism. Mechanism cannot be separated from labour and treated as a distinct branch or avocation; it may, in the common acceptation of the term, be considered the highest branch of labour, and in some countries, or situations, the most profitable; but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove it to be the most useful.

The opponents of a protective tariff charge its advocates with being opposed to free trade. There would be as much justice in charging all those who advocate protection against the vicious and lawless, with being opposed to liberty. When the patriots of the Revolution resolved upon LIBERTY, they raised the arm of PROTECTION. There cannot exist either liberty or free trade, in the wholesome sense of the terms, and the sense in which both terms are understood by the friends and opponents of the policy, without protection. The opponents of a protective tariff further say, that it increases the prices upon the consumers, without affecting the prices obtained by the growers or manufacturers. If this be correct, how ungenerous and unjust it is for us to complain of the high tariff imposed upon our importations of flour to England, and the high tariff on our importations of tobacco to France! If the consumers of the flour sent to England, and the consumers of the tobacco sent to France, pay *all* and we pay *none* of the duty, it matters not to us whether our flour and tobacco are admitted free of duty, or whether a tariff of ten dollars is laid upon a barrel of flour and twenty-five cents upon a pound of tobacco. Under a well regulated tariff, laid with a view exclusively to protection, sound policy and the interest of every section of our wide-spread country might require a duty so heavy on some articles as to ex-

clude them, and to admit some others free of duty. A duty laid, with a view of protection, ought to be discriminating; a dollar's worth of broad-cloth ought to pay more than a dollar's worth of tea; because, the former can be manufactured in abundance in this country, whereas the latter cannot be raised at all, or never has been; and, secondly, broad-cloth is principally worn by the rich, and the manufacturing of it in this country would give employment to our own manufacturers and labouring men; and if the tariff increased the value of it, as is contended by the opponents of the measure, it would be paid by the rich.—Let a case be supposed. The United States and Great Britain enter into an engagement, by which the former agrees to deliver the latter a hundred thousand barrels of flour at Liverpool, and the latter agrees to deliver the former a like number of barrels of equal quality at Boston.—Suppose that each nation exacted of the other a tariff of three dollars per barrel; the effect upon the two nations would be the same as if each nation admitted the imported flour free of duty. But suppose we paid a tariff of three dollars per barrel on our exportation, and only received a tariff of one dollar a barrel on the importation at Boston; we would lose two hundred thousand dollars by the difference in the tariff laws of the two nations. But it may be said that this supposed case, as relates to the tariff, never did and never will occur—that its injustice is too glaring to be entertained or submitted to. To this point let the reader pay particular attention. The writer has only supposed a case, or, more properly, stated the inequality of the tariff laws of the United States, Great Britain, France, and other European nations, as they now exist, and have existed for a number of years, and the withering effects are felt throughout our country. The inequality may not generally be considered so great as in the case of the flour; but, startling as it may seem, the inequality and unequal bearing on the United States are even greater than above supposed. The opponents of a protecting tariff admit that our tariff is greatly under the tariff duties of the nations with whom we trade; but, say they, foreign nations ought to bring down their tariff to an equilibrium with ours.—

Now, we do not possess the right nor power to compel foreign nations to reduce their tariff laws to an equilibrium with ours; but we possess the power and the right to raise ours to an equilibrium with theirs, and sound policy requires it. The opponents of a protective tariff sometimes refer to Mr. Jefferson, which is calling upon a witness to testify against them. As they have no right to impeach their own witness, Mr. Jefferson shall be examined. In his Notes on Virginia, page 171, Boston edition, for 1832, he says—"The political economists of Europe have established it as a principle that every state should endeavour to manufacture for itself: and this principle, like many others, we transfer to America, without calculating the difference of circumstances which should often produce a difference of result. In Europe the lands are either cultivated, or locked up against the cultivator. Manufacture must therefore be resorted to of necessity, not of choice, to support the surplus of their people. But we have an immensity of land and courting the industry of the husbandman. Is it best, then, that all our citizens should be employed in its improvement, or that one half should be called off from that to exercise manufactures and handicraft arts for the other? Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the face of the earth. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age or nation has furnished an example. It is the mark set on those, who not looking up to heaven, to their own soil and industry, as does the husbandman, for their subsistence, depend for it on casualties and caprice of customers. Dependence begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares its tools for the designs of ambition. This, the natural progress and consequence of the arts, has sometimes, perhaps, been retarded by accidental circumstances: but, generally speaking, the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any state to that of its husbandmen, is the portion of its unsound to its healthy

parts, and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption. While we have land to labour, then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a work-bench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry: but, for the general operations of manufactures, let our work-shops remain in Europe. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there, than bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles.—The loss by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic will be made up in happiness and permanence of government. The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigour. Degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart.”

If Mr. Jefferson had never afterwards written a word upon the subject of manufactures, a calculating statesman, looking to the circumstances which surrounded him, or which might present themselves, would not venture the declaration that the sentiments advanced by Mr. Jefferson would be applicable under any circumstances and through all time. Virtue, political and moral honesty are fundamental principles, which are substantially embraced in the Ten Commandments and should never be departed from; but circumstances have frequently occurred connected with our national and state policy, which made it necessary and proper to change measures. The mere abandonment of one measure, and the adoption of another, or the repealing of a law, and the enacting of another, does not prove that the measure abandoned and the law repealed never were wholesome and proper. There was a time when there was no necessity for a steamboat on the Ohio, or a Court House on the territory which now forms Kentucky; there was a time when strict laws were required for the protection of deer; but when the country was brought into cultivation, those laws became unnecessary, and their enforcement in many places would be oppressive and tyrannical. Happily for us, the days of Mr. Jefferson, the great apostle of democracy, the enlightened statesman and pure

patriot, were extended long enough to prove that the sentiments he advanced, in the quotation considered, ought not to be carried out under any circumstances whatever. The sentiments he advanced were applicable to our situation at the period he advanced them; but were not intended by him as standard sentiments and principles which would be applicable through all ages and under any circumstances. Nor did he expect to be so understood: in support of which, we make the following quotation from his letter to Benjamin Austin, dated, Monticello, January 9, 1816, and published in the fourth volume of his *Memoirs*. page 280.

“You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependence on England for manufactures.— There was a time when I might have been quoted with more candour. But within the thirty years which have since elapsed, how are circumstances changed! We were then in peace; our independent place among nations was acknowledged. A commerce which offered the raw material in exchange for the same material after receiving the last touch of industry, was worthy of welcome to all nations. It was expected, that those especially to whom manufacturing industry was important, would cherish the friendship of such customers by every favour, and particularly cultivate their peace by every act of justice and friendship. Under this prospect, the question seemed legitimate, whether, with such an immensity of unimproved land, courting the hand of husbandry, the industry of agriculture, or that of manufacture, would add most to the national wealth. And the doubt on the utility of the American manufactures was entertained on this consideration, chiefly, that to the labour of the husbandman a vast addition is made by the spontaneous energies of the earth on which it is employed. For one grain of wheat committed to the earth, she renders twenty, thirty and even fifty fold; whereas, to the labour of manufacture, nothing is added. Pounds of flax, in his hands, on the contrary, yield but pennyweights of lace. This exchange, too, laborious as it might seem, what a field did it promise for the occupation of the ocean; what a nursery for that class

of citizens who were to exercise and maintain our equal rights on that element! This was the state of things in 1785, when the notes of Virginia were first published; when the ocean being open to all nations, and their common right in it acknowledged and exercised under regulations sanctioned by the assent and usage of all, it was thought that the doubt might claim some consideration.

“But who, in 1785, could foresee the rapid depravity which was to render the close of that century a disgrace to the history of man? Who could have imagined that the two most distinguished in the rank of nations, for science and civilization, would have suddenly descended from that honorable eminence, and setting at defiance all those moral laws established by the Author of nature between nation and nation, as between man and man, would cover earth and sea with robberies and piracies, merely because strong enough to do it with temporal impunity, and that under this disbandment of nations from social order, we should have been despoiled of a thousand ships, and have thousands of citizens reduced to Algerine slavery? Yet all this has taken place. The British interdicted to our vessels all harbours of the globe, without having first proceeded to some one of hers, there paid a tribute proportioned to the cargo, and obtained her license to proceed to the port of destination. The French declared them to be lawful prizes if they had been touched at the port, or been visited by a ship of the enemy-nation. Thus were we completely excluded from the ocean. Compare this state of things with that of '85, and say whether an opinion founded in the circumstances of that day, can be fairly applied to those of the present. We have experienced, what we did not then believe, that there exists both profligacy and power enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations. That to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturalist. The former question is suppressed, or rather assumes a new form. The grand inquiry now is, shall we make our own comforts, or go without them at the will of a foreign nation. He, therefore, who is now

against domestic manufacture, must be for reducing us either to dependence on that foreign nation, or to be clothed in skins, and live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort; and if those who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not soon have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly wielded it. If it shall be proposed to go beyond our own supply, the question of '85 will then recur. Will our *surplus* labour be then more beneficially employed in the culture of the earth, or in the fabrications of art? We have time yet for consideration, before that question will press upon us; and the axiom to be applied will depend on the circumstance which shall then exist. For in so complicated a science as political economy, no one axiom can be laid down as wise and expedient for all times and circumstances. Inattention to this is what has called for this explanation, which reflection would have rendered unnecessary with the candid, while nothing will do it with those who use the former opinion only as a stalking horse to cover their disloyal propensities to keep us in eternal vassalage to a foreign and unfriendly people."

In the quotation from his Notes on Virginia and his letter to Mr. Austin, Mr. Jefferson displayed a giant mind, and, taking into consideration surrounding circumstances advocated measures suited to them—the true course of a great statesman and honest politician, recommending measures called for by the policy of foreign nations. When he wrote his Notes on Virginia, such mechanical branches, only, as were closely connected with husbandry were necessary. But time and the policy of foreign nations made it necessary and proper to add manufactures to agriculture; and experience proved that each would strengthen and invigorate the other. In 1785, there was no more necessity for manufactures and the mechanic arts, beyond those

stated by Mr. Jefferson, than there was for steamboats on the Ohio. In 1816 experience proved—"That to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves—we must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturalist." There is one sentence in Mr. Jefferson's letter which ought to be inscribed in large characters in every legislative hall, on the plough beam, in the school room, and in the dwelling of every citizen in the Union; it is in these words:—"FOR IN SO COMPLICATED A SCIENCE AS POLITICAL ECONOMY, NO ONE AXIOM CAN BE LAID DOWN AS WISE AND EXPEDIENT FOR ALL TIMES AND CIRCUMSTANCES." The foregoing text is in accordance with the great mind from which it emanated. Mr. Jefferson was a democrat in principle, and, in recommending and adopting measures applicable to his democratic principles, he took a statesman-like view of surrounding circumstances. His political principles were as pure and invigorating as the atmosphere where he penned his letter to Mr. Austin, and his expansive mind grasped, at a single glance, the physical and moral strength of the Union and the policy of foreign nations with whom we had intercourse.

President Jackson, in his second annual message to Congress, uses this language:—

"The object of the tariff is objected to by some as unconstitutional; and is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts.

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several states. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry is so completely incidental to that power that it is difficult to suppose the one without the other. The states have delegated their whole authority over imports to the general government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the states, the right to exercise it for the purpose of PROTECTION does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the general government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people *stripped of*

the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the states, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress.

"In this conclusion, I am confirmed as well by the opinions of presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, and the continued acquiescence of the general understanding of the people."

A few words are emphasised: in every other respect the quotation is literal and contains three entire paragraphs.—The number who believe that a tariff laid with a view to protection against the oppressive policy of foreign nations, or for the protection of our mechanics, would be unconstitutional, must be comparatively small. It is questionable whether any intelligent man believes that a protective tariff is unconstitutional under any circumstances whatever.—The reader will bear in mind the difference between *protection* and *oppression*. The advocates of a protective tariff are against oppressing any portion of the people.—Under the compromise act, the tariff had come down to its lowest point of twenty per cent., and if reducing it to ten per cent. or to one per cent., would promote the general good and public welfare, more than a higher tariff, the advocates of protection would go for one per cent. in preference to a higher rate. Protection and prosperity, in a national and individual point of view, are the objects of the friends of a protective tariff; they are alike opposed to duty on importations being too high or too low. That the tariff of 1830 may have been imperfect in some of its details, is probable. All human measures and institutions necessarily spring from, and are governed by, human minds and hands, and must be more or less imperfect; and as time and circumstances develope imperfections they ought to be corrected. At that period we had a protective tariff, and as sound, uniform, and convenient a currency for all classes of citizens, as the world ever produced, and the

country was in a high state of prosperity. In that message the president spoke of the revenue in the following language:—

“According to the estimates at the Treasury Department, the receipts in the Treasury, during the present year, will amount to twenty-four millions, one hundred and sixty-one thousand and eighteen dollars, which will exceed, by about three hundred thousand dollars, the estimate presented in the annual report of the secretary of the Treasury. The total expenditure during the year, exclusive of the public debt, is estimated at thirteen millions, seven hundred and forty-two thousand, three hundred and eleven dollars; and the payment on account of public debt, for the same period, will have been eleven millions, three hundred and fifty-four thousand, six hundred and thirty dollars; leaving a balance in the Treasury, on the 1st of January, 1831, of four millions, eight hundred and nineteen thousand, seven hundred and eighty-one dollars.”

In about four years afterwards, the whole national debt was paid off; and before the close of his administration, a surplus revenue of about forty millions had accumulated which Congress directed to be distributed among the states in proportion to their population. It must be borne in mind that president Jackson was aided throughout his administration by a protective tariff. The compromise act of 1828 but slightly affected the revenue until after the public debt was paid off. In his first annual message, of December 1829, he stated that the public debt on the 1st of January, following, would be reduced to forty-eight millions of dollars; and in his fifth annual message, of December 1833, he spoke in strong and vivid language of the prosperous condition of the Treasury, and that the national debt, on the 1st of the ensuing month, would be reduced to four millions of dollars, and that the whole debt would be liquidated during the year 1834. Up to the close of 1833, the compromise act did not affect the revenue, and but slightly reached it in 1834, when the remnant of the debt was reduced to five millions.

When president Jackson wrote his second annual message, he was an advocate for a protective tariff. His lan-

guage is unequivocal and cannot be misunderstood by any intelligent man; neither will any candid man attempt to misrepresent its plain meaning and intent. He not only used language the meaning and intent of which was protection to domestic industry; but, as determined not to be misunderstood by any class of readers, he literally used the word "*protection*," and applied it to the support and "encouragement" of domestic branches of industry. He concluded by a reference to presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, as having "repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the states, and the general understanding of the people." He is silent in reference to the sentiments of president John Adams and John Quincy Adams upon this important subject. The writer attentively examined the inaugural addresses, messages, &c. of both. In reference to the first nothing specific is found in support of a protective tariff; yet, it is but justice to Mr. Adams, to say that a protective tariff was laid and fostered under the administration of his predecessor, and was not disturbed by him; to the contrary, the protective system, organized and fostered under the administration of president Washington, was carried out and strengthened until *after the re-election* of president Jackson in 1822, after which the compromise act was passed, and which has acted on the revenue and upon the best interests of the great body of the people like a consumption upon a patient. The body politic is now labouring under a pulmonary disease of several years standing—the national patient requires restoratives; depletives have been used until the national patient can scarcely stand.—Without questioning the motives of the political doctors, who, a few years ago, commenced their sanative operations on the national patient, then healthy and vigorous, promising to make him more so, and render him immortal, they were unsuccessful. They spoke of their nostrums as being greatly superior in their healing quality to any of the cure-alls offered at our apothecary shops. The result reminds one of the anecdote of a young disciple of Esculapius, who had committed to memory two medical phrases,

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which he used on all occasions connected with his profession, and which his patients believed were so comprehensive in meanings as to be applicable to all diseases. The one was "expectorate" and the other "congestive." On being told that he had been unsuccessful, that most of his patients had died, he gravely answered, that he "never failed to effect a cure when his medical treatment had the *desired* effect." It is but charitable to believe that the medical treatment of our political doctors would have been successful if it had produced the *desired* effect. As the people are anxious to be restored to their former political health and vigor, it is hoped and believed that they will use the proper *means*.

On examining the inaugural address and messages of president John Q. Adams, he is silent upon the subject of a protective tariff, until he communicated his sentiments in his fourth and last annual message, which was after the contest between him and Gen. Jackson, and consequently Mr. Adams had not the benefit of his sentiments in that election in which he was defeated. The reader will bear in mind that president John Adams and John Q. Adams were candidates for re-election and were defeated; and the same may be said of a president who followed "in the footsteps of an illustrious predecessor," after he had departed from the "footsteps" of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Public sentiment indicates in language that cannot be misunderstood, that no candidate can hereafter be elected to the presidential chair, who is known to be opposed to a protective tariff; unless the period should arrive at which such protection would not be necessary or desirable; at such a period, wisdom would dictate that statesmen should act accordingly. The sentiments of Mr. John Q. Adams, upon the subject, are worthy of consideration. In his fourth annual message of December, 1823, he says—

"The great interests of our agricultural, commercial and manufacturing nation, are so linked in union together, that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others. All these interests are alike under the protecting power of the legis-

lative authority, and the duties of the representative bodies are to conciliate them in harmony together. So far as the object of taxation is to raise a revenue for discharging the debts, and defraying the expenses of the community, it should, as much as possible, suit the burden with equal hand upon all, in proportion to their ability of bearing it without oppression. But the legislation of one nation is sometimes intentionally made to bear heavily upon the interests of another. That legislation, adapted, as it is meant to be, to the special interests of its *own people*, will often press most unequally upon the several component interests of its neighbours. Thus, the legislation of Great Britain, when, as has recently been avowed, adapted to the depression of a rival nation, will naturally abound with regulations of interdict upon the productions of the soil or industry of the other which came in competition with its own; and will present encouragement, perhaps, even bounty, to the raw material of the other state, which it cannot produce itself, and which is essential for the use of its manufactures, competition in the markets of the world with those of its commercial rival. Such is the state of the commercial legislation of Great Britain as it *bears upon our interests*. It excludes with interdicting duties, all importation (except in time of approaching famine), of the great staple productions of our middle and western states; it proscribes with equal vigor, bulkier lumber and live stock of the same portion, and also of the northern and eastern parts of our union. It refuses even the rice of the south, unless aggravated with a charge of duty upon the northern carrier who brings it to them. But the cotton, indispensable for their looms, they will receive almost duty free, to weave it into a fabric for our own wear, to the destruction of our own manufacturers, which they are thus unable to undersell."

"Is the self-protecting energy of this nation so helpless and powerless that there exists, in the political institutions of our country, no power to counteract the bias of this foreign legislation? that the growers of grain must submit to this exclusion from the foreign markets of their produce—that the shippers must dismantle their ships, the

trade of the north stagnate at the wharves, and the manufacturers starve at their looms, while the whole people shall pay tribute to foreign industry to be clad in a foreign garb—that the Congress of the Union is impotent to restore the balance in favor of native industry destroyed by the statutes of another realm? More just and more generous sentiments, will, I trust prevail. If the tariff adopted at the last session of Congress shall be found by experience to bear oppressively upon the interests of any one section of the Union, it ought to be, and I cannot doubt will be so modified as to alleviate its burden. To the voice of just complaint from any portion of their constituents, the representatives of the states and people will never turn away their ears. But so long as the duty of the foreign shall operate only as a bounty upon the domestic article, while the planter, the merchant, the shepherd, and the husbandman, shall be found thriving in their occupations under the duties imposed for the protection of domestic manufactures, they will not repine at the prosperity shared with themselves by their fellow-citizens of other professions, nor denounce as violations of the constitution, the deliberate acts of Congress to shield from the wrongs of foreign laws the native industry of the Union. While the tariff of the last session of Congress was a subject of legislative deliberation, it was foretold by some of its opposers that one of its necessary consequences would be to impair the revenue. It is yet too soon to pronounce, with confidence, that this prediction was erroneous. The obstruction of one avenue of trade not unfrequently opens an issue to another. The consequence of the tariff will be to increase the exportation, and to diminish the importation of some specific articles. But, by the general law of trade, the increase of exportation of one article, will be followed by an increased importation of others, the duties upon which, will supply the deficiencies, which the diminished importation would otherwise occasion. The effect of taxation upon revenue can seldom be foreseen with certainty. It must abide the test of experience. As yet, no symptoms of diminution are perceptible in the receipts of the Treasury. As yet, little addition of cost has

even been experienced upon the articles burthened with heavier duties by the last tariff. The domestic manufacturer supplies the same or a kindred article at a diminished price, and the consumer pays the same tribute to the labour of his own countrymen, which he must otherwise have paid to foreign industry and toil.

“The tariff of the last session was, in its details, not acceptable to the great interests of any portion of the Union, not even to the interests which it was specially intended to subserve. Its object was to balance the burthens upon native industry imposed by the operation of foreign laws; but not to aggravate the burthens of one section of the Union by the relief offered by another.—The great principle sanctioned by that act, one of those upon which the constitution itself was formed, I hope and trust, the authorities of the Union will adhere. But if any of the duties imposed by the act only relieve the manufacturer by aggravating the burthen of the planter, let a careful revisal of its provisions, enlightened by the practical experience of its effects, be directed to retain those which impart protection to native industry, and remove or supply the place of those which only alleviate one great national interest by the depression of another.”

A few words are underscored. The sentiments expressed by president Jackson in his message, two years afterwards, accord with the sentiments of Mr. Adams, his immediate predecessor. Both agreed that the tariff, as passed at the session of 1827 and '28 was defective in some of its *details*; but both advocated the protective system—the uniform policy of the government since its formation. And it was not known that the sentiments of president Jackson had undergone any change until *after* he was re-elected and the public debt extinguished. An opinion prevails among some statesmen, that, if the government could be supported without laying any duty whatever upon importations, that there would be no necessity for a tariff to protect our domestic industry, and that all foreign articles should be admitted free of duty or restrictions.—Plausible as this may seem, it is as absurd as it would be to say that quarentine laws should not be put in force un-

til after a pestilence had spread through a city, or that the military should not be called into service until a foreign foe had invaded and taken possession of our soil. What would be said of the municipal authorities of a city, who, on being informed of a nuisance in its centre during dog-days, would decline having it removed unless it produced disease? As some of our statesmen are advocates for the repeal of all tariff laws, and illustrating the *feeling* sense by raising a revenue from direct taxes, let us suppose their theory to be carried into practice; it would not produce corresponding laws on the part of foreign nations, but it would be to their interest to break up all our mechanics and manufacturers and monopolise the whole branches of mechanism. The first effect would be to throw out of employment all *boot and shoe makers, hatters, tinners, iron merchants, and all mechanics*, except only, those closely connected with farming; and what would they go at? They would be forced into agricultural pursuits which would *increase* the quantity of agricultural productions and *lower* their price, *reduce the wages of labour*, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson, we would have "to be clothed in skins, and live like wild beasts in dens and caverns."—The United States in such a situation might be compared to a leaky ship at sea making water faster than it could be pumped out without throwing over-board all her cargo and ballast, and then be in danger of foundering. In such a deplorable situation we would have a demonstration of the *feeling* sense. If the writer is not mistaken, every state in the Union has laws to protect the industry of its own citizens against the intrusions of other states. Happily for us the people are daily becoming sensible that it is to the interest of *all* to protect the *mechanics* of our own country, and they in return will protect the agricultural interest. The true interest of the agricultural, mechanical and mercantile classes in our wide-spread and fertile country, cannot be separated without producing an effect similar to that of cutting off an arm or a leg from the human body. We will next consider the sentiments of president Jackson, after he had changed his views upon the subject or misapplied his principles. In his message of 1836, he says:—

"You will perceive from the report of the secretary of the Treasury, that the financial means of the country continue to keep pace with its improvements in all other respects. The receipts into the Treasury during the present year will amount to about \$47,691,893; those from customs being estimated at \$22,523,151; those from lands at about \$24,000,000, and the residue from miscellaneous sources. The expenditures for all objects during the year, are estimated not to exceed \$32,000,000, which will leave a balance in the Treasury for public purposes, on the first day of January next, of about \$41,723,959. This sum, with the exception of five millions, will be transferred to the several states, in accordance with the provisions of the act regulating the deposite of the public money."

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"The consequences apprehended when the deposite act of the last session received a reluctant approval, have been measurably realised. Though an act merely of deposite of the surplus moneys of the United States in the state Treasuries for safe keeping, until they may be wanted for the service of the general government, it has been extensively spoken of as an act to give the money to the several states, and they have been advised to use it as a gift without regard to the means of refunding it when called for. Such a suggestion has doubtless been made without a due consideration of the obligation of the deposite act, and without a proper attention to the various principles and interests which are affected by it. It is manifest that the law itself cannot sanction such a suggestion, and that, as it now stands, the states have no more authority to receive and use those deposits without intending to return them, than any deposite bank, or any individual temporarily charged with the safe-keeping or application of the public money, would now have for converting the same to his private use, without the consent and against the will of the government. But independent of the violation of the public faith and moral obligation which are involved in this suggestion, when examined in reference to the terms of the present deposite act, it is believed that the considerations which should govern the future legislation of

Congress on this subject, will be equally conclusive against the adoption of any measure recognizing the principles on which the suggestion has been made.

* * * * *

“The experience of other nations admonished us to hasten the extinguishment of the public debt; but it will be in vain that we have congratulated each other upon the disappearance of this evil, if we do not guard against the equally great one of promoting the unnecessary accumulation of public revenue. No political maxim is better established than that which tells us that an improvident expenditure of money is the parent of profligacy, and that no people can hope to perpetuate their liberties who long acquiesce in a policy which taxes them for objects not necessary to the legitimate and real wants of their government. Flattering as is the condition of our country at the present period, because of its unexampled advance in all the steps of social and political improvement, it cannot be disguised that there is a lurking danger already apparent in the neglect of this warning truth, and that the time has arrived when the representatives of the people should be employed in devising some more appropriate remedy than now exists to avert it.”

“Under our present system, there is every probability that there will continue to be a surplus beyond the wants of the government; and it has become our duty to decide whether such a course be consistent with the true objects of our government.”

“Should a surplus be permitted to accumulate beyond the appropriations, it must be retained in the Treasury, as it now is, or distributed among the people of the states.”

“To retain in the Treasury, in any way, is impracticable. It is, besides, against the genius of our free institutions to lock up in the vaults the treasure of the nation. To take from the people the right of bearing arms, and put their weapons in the hands of a standing army, would be scarcely more dangerous to their liberties, than to permit the government to accumulate immense amounts of treasure beyond the supplies necessary to its legitimate wants. Such a treasure would doubtless be employed at

some time, as it has been in other countries, when opportunity tempted ambition."

"To collect it merely for distribution to the states, would seem to be highly impolitic, if not as dangerous as the proposition to retain it in the Treasury. The shortest reflection must satisfy every one, that to require the people to pay taxes to the government merely that they may be paid back again, is sporting with the substantial interest of the country; and no system which produces such a result can be expected to receive the public countenance. Nothing could be gained by it, even if each individual who contributed a portion of the tax could receive back promptly the same portion. But it is apparent that no system of the kind can ever be enforced which will not absorb a considerable portion of the money, to be distributed in salaries and commissions to the agents employed in the process, and in the various losses and depreciations which arise from other causes; and the practical effect of such an attempt must ever be to burden the people with taxes, not for purposes beneficial to them, but to swell the profits of deposit banks and support a band of useless public officers."

"A distribution to the people is impracticable and unjust in other respects. It would be taking one man's property and giving it to another. Such would be the unavoidable result of a rule of equality, (and none other is spoken of, or would be likely to be adopted,) inasmuch as there is no mode by which the amount of individual contributions of our citizens to the public revenue can be ascertained. We know that they contribute *unequally*; and a rule, therefore, that would distribute to them *equally* would be liable to all the objections which apply to the principle of an equal division of property. To make the general government the instrument of carrying this odious principle into effect, would be at once to destroy the means of its usefulness, and change the character designed for it by the framers of the constitution."

"But the more extended and injurious consequences likely to result from a policy which would collect a surplus revenue for the purpose of distributing it, may be forcibly illustrated by an examination of the effects already produc-

ed by the present deposit act. This act, although certainly designed to secure the safe-keeping of the public revenue, is not entirely free in its tendencies from many of the objections which apply to this principle of distribution. The government had, without necessity, received from the people a large surplus, which, instead of being employed as heretofore, and returned to them by means of the public expenditure, was deposited with sundry banks. These banks proceeded to make loans upon this surplus, and thus converted it into banking capital; and in this manner it has tended to multiply bank charters, and had a great agency in producing a spirit of wild speculation. The possession and use of the property out of which this surplus was created belonged to the people; but the government has transferred its possession to incorporated banks, whose interest and effort it is to make large profits out of its use. This process need only be stated to show its injustice and bad policy."

"And the same observations apply to the influence which is produced by the steps necessary to collect as well as to distribute such a revenue. About three-fifths of all the duties on imports are paid in the city of New York; but it is obvious that the means to pay those duties are drawn from every part of the union. Every citizen, in every state, who purchases and consumes an article which has paid a duty at that port, contributes to the accumulating mass. The surplus collected there must, therefore, be made up of moneys or property withdrawn from other points and other states. Thus the wealth and business of every region from which these surplus funds proceed must be, to some extent injured, while that of the place where the funds are concentrated and employed in banking, are proportionably extended. But, both in making the transfer of the funds which are first necessary to pay the duties and collect the surplus, and in making the re-transfer which becomes necessary when the time arrives for the distribution of that surplus, there is a considerable period when the funds cannot be brought into use; and it is manifest that besides the loss inevitable from such an operation, its tendency is to produce fluctuations in the business of the country, which

are always productive of speculation and detrimental to the interest of regular trade. Argument can scarcely be necessary to show that a measure of this character ought not to receive further legislative encouragement."

* * * * * "Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that the surplus moneys to be deposited with the states have been collected and belong to them in the ratio of their federal representative population—an assumption founded upon the fact that any deficiencies in our future revenue, from imports and public lands, must be made up by direct taxes collected from the states in that ratio. It is proposed to distribute the surplus, say \$30,000,000, not according to the ratio in which it has been collected and belongs to the people of the states, but in that of their vote in the colleges of electors of president and vice-president. The effect of a distribution upon that ratio, is shown by the annexed table, marked A."

"By the ratio of direct taxation, for example, the state of Delaware, in the collection of \$30,000,000 of revenue, would pay into the Treasury \$189,716; and, in the distribution of \$30,000,000, she would receive back from the government, according to the ratio of the deposit bill, the sum of \$306,122; and similar results would follow the comparison between the small and the large states throughout the Union; thus realising to the small states an advantage which would be doubtless as unacceptable to them as a motive for incorporating the principle in any system which would produce it, as it would be inconsistent with the rights and expectations of large states."

* * * * * "By the watchful eye of self-interest, the agents of the people in the state governments are represented and kept within the limits of a just economy. But if the necessity of levying the taxes be taken from those who make the appropriations, and thrown upon a more distant and less responsible set of public agents, who have power to approach the people by an indirect and stealthy taxation, there is reason to fear that prodigality will soon supersede those characteristics which have thus far made us look with so much pride and confidence to the state governments as the main stay of our union and liber-

ty. The state legislatures, instead of studying to restrict their state expenditures to the smallest possible sum, will claim credit for their profusion and harrass the general government for increased supplies. Practically, there would soon be but one taxing power, and that vested in a body of men far removed from the people, in which the farming and mechanic interests would scarcely be represented. The states would gradually lose their purity as well as their independence; they would not dare to murmur at the proceedings of the general government, lest they should lose their supplies; all would be merged in practical consolidation, cemented by wide-spread corruption, which could only be eradicated by one of those bloody revolutions which occasionally overthrow the despotic systems of the old world. In all the other aspects in which I have been able to look at the effect of such a principle of distribution upon the best interests of the country, I can see nothing to compensate for the disadvantages to which I have adverted. If we consider the protective duties, which are, in a great degree, the source of the surplus revenue, beneficial to one section of the union and prejudicial to another, there is no corrective for the evil in such a plan of distribution. On the contrary, there is reason to fear that all the complaints which have sprung from this cause would be aggravated. Every one must be sensible that a distribution of the surplus must beget a disposition to cherish the means which create it; and any system, therefore, into which it enters, must have a powerful tendency to increase rather than diminish the tariff. If it were even admitted that the advantages of such a system could be made equal to all the sections of the Union, the reasons already calling for a reduction of the revenue would, nevertheless, lose none of their force; for it will always be improbable that an intelligent and virtuous community can consent to raise a surplus for the mere purpose of dividing it, diminished as it inevitably must be by the expenses of the various machinery necessary to the process."

"The safest and simplest mode of obviating the difficulties which have been mentioned is to collect only revenue enough to meet the wants of the government, and let the

people keep the balance of their property in their own hands, to use for their own profit. Each state will then support its own government, and contribute its due share to the support of the general government. There would be no surplus to cramp and lessen the resources of individual wealth and enterprise, and the banks would be left to their ordinary means. Whatever agitations and fluctuations might arise from our unfortunate paper system, they could never be attributed, justly or unjustly, to the action of the federal government. There would be some guaranty that the spirit of wild speculation which seeks to convert the surplus revenue into banking capital, would be effectually checked, and the scenes of demoralizing which are now so prevalent through the land would disappear."

"Without desiring to conceal that the experience and observations of the last two years have operated a partial change in my views upon this interesting subject, it is, nevertheless, regretted that the suggestions made by me in my annual messages of 1829 and 1830 have been greatly misunderstood. At that time, the great struggle began against that latitudinarian construction of the Constitution which authorises the unlimited appropriation of the Union to internal improvements within the states, tending to invest in the hands and place under the control of the general government all the principal roads and canals of the country, in violation of state rights, and in derogation of state authority. At the same time, the condition of the manufacturing interests was such as to create an apprehension that the duties on imports could not, without extensive mischief, be reduced in season to prevent the accumulation of a considerable surplus after the payment of the national debt. In view of the dangers of such a surplus, and in preference to its application to internal improvements, in derogation of the rights and powers of the states, the suggestion of an amendment to the Constitution to authorise its distribution was made. It was an alternative for what were deemed greater evils—a temporary resort to relieve an overburthened treasury, until the government could, without a sudden and destructive revulsion in the business of the country, gradually return to the first principle of raising no more

revenue from the people in taxes than is necessary for its economical support. Even that alternative was not spoken of but in connection with an amendment of the Constitution. No temporary inconvenience can justify the exercise of a prohibited power, or a power not granted by that instrument; and it was from a conviction that the power to distribute even a temporary surplus of revenue is of that character, that it was suggested only in connection with an appeal to the source of all legal power in the general government—the states which have established it. No such appeal has been taken; and, in my opinion, a distribution of the surplus revenue by Congress, either to the states or to the people, is to be considered as among the prohibitions of the Constitution. As already intimated, my views have undergone a change, so far as to be convinced that no alteration in the Constitution in this respect is wise or expedient. The influence of an accumulating surplus upon the legislation of the general government and the states; its effect upon the credit system of the country, producing dangerous extensions and ruinous contractions, fluctuations in the price of property, rash speculations, idleness, extravagance, and a deterioration of morals, have taught us the important lesson, that any transient mischief which may attend the reduction of our revenue to the wants of the government is to be borne in preference to an overflowing Treasury."

Willingly would the writer have avoided the labour of so lengthy a quotation, if justice to president Jackson had not required that his arguments against a protective tariff and the distribution of a surplus revenue among the states, should be fully quoted; and by doing him justice protect himself against a charge of making a garbled quotation, which would have been inexcusable. The argument in the foregoing extract against the protective system is the fountain from which all the arguments of its opponents flow. They are entitled to the most deliberate, impartial and scrutinizing consideration that can be bestowed upon them. First, as emanating from the *then* political head of the nation, in the most imposing official form. Secondly, from the principles involved, being at variance with the

principles upon which the government had been previously administered from its formation. A new principle is boldly asserted, which, if correct, the government has spent millions of dollars for which the people have not received one cent benefit; but have been injured beyond the amount of money thrown away.

TWO PREMISES are assumed as FACTS—first, that the duties on importations are *wholly paid* by the people of the United States, as *positively* as if the revenue was raised by *direct tax*; and that it is not paid by the *producers or manufacturers of foreign nations from which the importations are made*.

Secondly—That to return to the states, or the people, any surplus revenue, improperly drawn from them, would produce "*wide-spread CORRUPTION*."

Not a single argument is used by Gen. Jackson to prove that his *premises* are correct; but, assuming them as such, without any demonstration at all, he has dwelt upon the injustice of the first and the demoralizing effect of the second. The first evidence against the premises assumed in both cases shall be the testimony of Gen. Jackson himself, solemnly given, and that too, *after* his mind had undergone a change upon the subject. He shall be relieved from his sentiments and arguments previously given in support of a protective tariff, and his reference to the sentiments of presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, which he referred to as confirming his own. Now for the cross-examination of General Jackson. In the message under consideration is a paragraph in the following words:—

"The blessings of peace have not been secured by Spain. Our connections with that country are on the best footing with the *exception* of the BURDENS still imposed upon our commerce with her possessions out of Europe."

If the Tariff laid by our government upon the importations from foreign nations, be a tax upon our *own people* who purchase and use them, it irresistibly follows that the duties imposed on our exportations by foreign governments are paid by the people under those governments who *use them*, and it matters not to us whether our exports to foreign nations are admitted free of duty, or whether our flour

pays a duty of ten dollars a barrel and a corresponding duty on all other exports. If the first premises assumed are correct, the last sentence in relation to Spain, should have run thus:—"Our connetions with that country remain on the best footing, except the heavy BURDENS imposed upon her *own citizens* in support of *our commerce* with her possessions out of Europe, which while it does not affect us, enlists our sympathy for the people of Spain who labour under such *burdens* imposed by *their own government*." Gen. Jackson and all his predecessors made repeated representations to Congress of the restrictions and "burdens" imposed upon our exportations by foreign nations; and ministers have been appointed under every administration, and sent to foreign nations for the purpose of making commercial treaties, to admit our importations at as low a duty as possible. The salaries of those ministers and their attendants, in connection with all other expenses attending their missions, must, since the foundation of the government, have cost many millions of dollars, all which was a useless expenditure, if the premises assumed by president Jackson are correct.

Suppose that all the commercial revenue which has been raised since the foundation of the government had been derived from a capitation tax on the emigrants from foreign nations, would there not be as much propriety, or impropriety, in saying that the capitation tax was paid by the *natives* and not by the *foreigners*, as to say that the tariff duties are wholly paid by consumers in the United States, and nothing paid by the foreign producers and exporters? Some of our friends in the country have to pass through toll-gates to reach our market-house, and yet they cannot get a higher price for their butter and other articles than those who reach the market-house without passing gates and paying tribute. Those agriculturists who send their surplus to market by the way of pikes, rail-roads and canals, do not, cannot, sell their produce a shade higher than those whose locality enable them to send their produce to market without touching a pike, rail-road, or canal. Who ever saw the price of flour stated thus in a Baltimore, or in any other paper: "\$6,00 if brought to market on a free

road, or \$6,25 to \$6,50 per barrel, if brought in on a pike, railroad or canal, proportioned to the toll paid? The advocates of internal improvement never said or believed that it would increase the prices of surplus productions in our seaport towns or in foreign markets, but that it would facilitate the transportation from the place of production to market and reduce the price of transportation. But a barrel of flour sent to market by way of a pike, a railroad or canal, will not command a higher price than a barrel of flour sent on a free road. The same will apply to all other produce. The opinion of some persons that railroads and canals operate against those farmers who can send their produce to market by their own teams, is absurd. All who are opposed to railroads and canals, are advocates for pikes or pave roads. Suppose that a barrel of flour could be forwarded by a railroad or canal at the rate of ten cents for every fifty miles, (and other produce at the same rate,) and plaster brought on the return trip at the rate of one dollar a ton for every fifty miles, and everything else required at the same price, it could not injure the farmer, who could send his produce to market by his own team, because he would have both the power and the right of deciding which would be the most to his interest, to wagon to market his own produce, or to keep his wagon and team at home, employed or unemployed, and pay the price of transportation by the canals and railroads. But it is said by some, that the extension of internal improvements beyond paved roads has been a serious injury to those who depended alone upon wagoning for a living, and that wagon taverns have been injured. In all well regulated governments and societies, the interest of the *many* have a preference to the interests of the *few*. Disclaiming anything invidious or disparaging to any class of citizens, it would not be more absurd to say that a small *minority* should govern an overwhelming *democracy of numbers*, than to say that the interests of those who exclusively live by wagoning, and those who live by keeping wagon taverns, should be supported by sacrificing the interests of all other classes of citizens. But it is doubtful whether there can be found in the United States a single man who cleared anything from wagoning *exclu-*

sively. But admit that one or more can be found who cleared anything by wagoning, *exclusively*, the number is certainly small, compared with the number who found it a sinking business.

General Jackson, in his third annual message, second paragraph, uses the following beautiful and sensible language, on the subject of internal improvement:

“Agriculture, the first and most important occupation of man, has compensated the labours of the husbandman with plentiful crops of all the varied productions of our extensive country. Manufactures have been established in which the funds of capitalists find a profitable investment, and which give employment and subsistence to a numerous and increasing body of industrious and dexterous *mechanics*. The *labourer* is rewarded by *high wages* in the construction of works of internal improvement, which are extending with unprecedented rapidity. Science is steadily penetrating the recesses of nature, and disclosing her secrets, while the ingenuity of free minds is subjecting the elements to the power of man, and making each new conquest auxiliary to his comfort. By our mails, whose speed is regularly increased, and whose routes are every year extended, the communication of public intelligence and private business, is rendered frequent and safe; the intercourse between distant cities, which formerly required weeks to accomplish, is now effected in a few days; and in the construction of *railroads and the application of steam power*, we have a reasonable prospect that the extreme parts of our country will be so much approximated, and those most insulated by the obstacles of nature rendered so accessible, as to remove an apprehension sometimes entertained, that the great extent of the union would endanger its permanent existence.”

When president Jackson penned the message from which the foregoing paragraph is quoted we were flourishing under a protective tariff; our prosperity was onward; the national debt was diminishing in proportion as all classes of society were advancing in prosperity and solid comfort. It is not asserted that the protective tariff was the cause of the rain which was poured down by an all-wise Providence—for it

"rains upon the just and the unjust"—but it is contended that the effects of the system stimulated all classes of society to industry and laudable enterprise. In the sublime language of the president, proof of its effects was given in "subjecting the elements to the power of man, and making each new conquest auxiliary to his comfort." Reason and revelation unite in teaching us that we need not expect any special blessings from our heavenly Father, unless we use means which he has bestowed upon us to obtain them. The prayers of the husbandman would be unanswered (and they ought to be,) unless he first used the plough and attended to his avocation. Just so with all other classes of society. In vain may we expect to be restored to that sound state of onward prosperity, in a national and individual point of view, from which we have been withdrawn, until we have a protecting tariff. Experience will ultimately triumph over party and prejudice; the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of the great body of the people will triumph over party politicians; the people will catechise their candidates in reference to MEASURES, not party names. By the weight of a party name, many candidates have reached office; but the signs of the times indicate that the political issue to be enjoined will be between conflicting MEASURES; the jurors will consist of the great body of the people who are honest and intelligent; and political party names will, it is fairly believed, have no more weight in their decision than the names of parties to a civil suit in a court have with the jury.

The reader may consider that the writer has, improperly, digressed from the subject—perhaps he has; one more talented might have made a different and better arrangement; but adopting a system suited to his capacity, he determined to embrace the tariff and internal improvement systems in the same chapter, and consider each in connection with the other.

To enable the candid inquirer to form a correct opinion of the effect of a protective tariff upon all classes in our wide-spread country, industriously engaged in various pursuits, all having a tendency to promote the general good if not counteracted by the policy of foreign governments or

that of our own, it is necessary that he should study the principles of proportion, attraction and repulsion, gravity, mechanism, and agriculture, and arrive, thereby, as near as possible to an EQUILIBRIUM. The author might continue the category of ideas embracing principles necessary to be understood and properly applied in support of the important measure now under consideration.

The writer will take into consideration the effect of a protecting tariff upon imported hats, and what we shall say in reference to them will apply to all other articles which we can manufacture in superabundance. He has selected hats, not because he wishes to give hatters a preference over any other class of mechanics, but it was necessary to specify some articles, and if he had named saddles, boots or shoes, the question might have been asked, why were hats not selected? With tea, coffee and other necessary agricultural articles which cannot be produced in the United States, we have nothing to do. We might as well talk about constructing a railroad from New York to London, as to speak of a protective tariff on necessary agricultural articles, which neither the soil or climate of the United States will produce.

The often repeated objection to a protective tariff, that it is a Whig measure, cannot have the slightest weight with men whose minds are free from prejudice and who will decide the question as honest men settle their accounts—by striking balances upon the arithmetical principles of addition and subtraction. It is the writer's duty, as being impartial, to state, in justice to the Democrats, that many of them are uncompromising advocates of a protective tariff. At many congressional elections, the opposing party candidates unequivocally declared themselves in favour of the system. If it was a test question at succeeding elections, unconnected with any other consideration, every district north of the Potomac, with few exceptions, would go for protection to home industry. The same may be said of the great west, and the south is divided. Every man in this congressional district who is informed upon this all-important subject, knows that a majority of the people are in favour of it. The interests of the agriculturalists and

mechanics are so completely entwined with each other that they cannot be separated without injury to both.

Two hatters have localities surrounded by such different and conflicting circumstances, that one of them sells his hats at fifty cents, each, higher than the other. But the one who sells at the higher price vends but two hundred annually and the other sells a thousand. Hence, the one who sells at the lower price, clears the more money; it then follows that the profit on a *single hat* is of small importance to the hatter—that it is to the quantity he sells he must look for support, and not to the profit on a single hat. And the same will apply to all the various branches of mechanism. In all our cities, towns, villages, and in the most isolated stores we find imported hats, and those who buy them generally purchase at stores and not at the hat shops. Imported and domestic hats are retailed almost exclusively at stores, and both must bear a price proportioned to quality; the result is, that domestic hatters are *limited* in the number they manufacture; not because hats are not wanting, but because the tariff on imported hats is so low, that thousands, perhaps millions, are annually imported from foreign work-shops, thrown into our markets, and large sums of money annually carried out of our country for articles which our own mechanics could and would furnish in superabundance, of equal quality and at a *lower* price, if they were so protected from foreign competition as to get sale for *all* they could make. If, indeed, the foreign hats are not sold for cash, such articles only are purchased from us as the foreigner would prefer to cash; foreign nations will take nothing from us which is not indispensable, except upon such terms as give them an advantage in the exchange. Now, suppose, that Congress, with a view of reducing the number of imported hats without reducing the amount of revenue duties upon them, but with a view of increasing the demand for domestic manufactured hats, and affording a market for them, should double the tariff on imported hats, is it not reasonable to conclude that the domestic hatters would increase the number of hats previously made at their shops, that journeymen hatters could obtain employment and apprentices

obtain situations? We next suppose that doubling the tariff did not reduce the importations; what would have been the consequence? The revenue on hats would have been doubled without an increase or decrease in the number imported; and the number of domestic hats would have been increased. Under such circumstances no man in his senses could believe that the price of hats would have been advanced when they had increased in number at our own shops. We next suppose that Congress, again, doubled the duty on imported hats, and that it had the effect of reducing the number of importations one half, whilst the revenue would have remained just what it was, previous to the last advance, and double what it was, previous to adding the first protecting tariff. Now can any man who will impartially consider the subject, doubt that the increasing of the tariff on imported hats would not have increased the number manufactured in our own shops? Can any calculating man who studies the principles of proportion, action and counteraction, suppose that the price of hats would have been increased by affording such a protection to home industry? Taking into consideration that we possess all the materials for making hats, boots, shoes, saddles and various other articles, the use of which has rendered them indispensable, and an abundance of worthy mechanics, can it be doubted that the increase of manufactured articles in our own shops would *reduce* the price? Bear in mind, also, the vast sum of money which would annually be retained in the country—a revenue preserved sufficient for the support of the government. What has been advanced in support of protection to the productions of mechanism specified, will apply to all other imported articles and commodities, which can, with convenience be manufactured to any required extent by our own mechanics and from our own raw materials. It follows then upon arithmetical principles that the natural tendency of a protecting tariff is to counteract the policy of foreign nations and to *reduce* the price of domestic articles of manufacture, and increase the wealth, prosperity, happiness and social condition of all classes of society.

We next consider the bearing of the tariff imposed by

foreign nations upon our exports. An American shipment of tobacco is made to a Spanish, or any other foreign port, and sold at twenty dollars a hundred, but in the language of president Jackson it is "burdened" by a duty of ten dollars for every hundred pounds, which, being paid by the shipper, leaves him ten dollars on every hundred pounds. Now, if the duty were but one dollar per hundred weight the shipper would receive nineteen dollars for every hundred pounds after paying the duty:—a vast difference in the sale of a thousand hogsheads. Now if it be said that such a tariff would act like a two edged sword, cutting on both sides—that it would be a "burden" on the American shipper and also on the foreign consumers—we answer that if the people of the nation which imposed the "burden" complained of by Gen. Jackson, could raise tobacco as conveniently and abundantly as corn (including all kinds of grain) is produced in the United States, that so far from the high tariff being a "burden" on the foreign consumers, it would *reduce* the price. How? Answer:—Because, it would create competition among the growers of tobacco, who, knowing that the tariff would limit and greatly *reduce* the quantity which otherwise would be imported, would secure to them the home market, and the large quantity which they could raise and would produce would compensate them for the low price arising from the quantity raised; and the price would be much less fluctuating than it would be if regulated by foreign importations. Fluctuations in the prices of domestic or foreign articles are productive of inconvenience to all and often ruinous to prudent and cautious men.

We next take a shipment of flour to a foreign port, which is sold at ten dollars a barrel and pays a duty of five dollars, and leaves five dollars a barrel to the shipper. If the duty was but one dollar a barrel, the shipper would receive nine dollars for each barrel after paying the duty:—a vast difference on a shipment of ten thousand barrels.

Next we take a cargo of cotton. If it is shipped to a manufacturing nation, the soil and climate of which are such that cotton cannot be raised, the tariff is adapted to the case. If the nation has colonies in which cotton is

raised sufficient to supply it, a preference is given to the colonies, and our exportations of cotton are subjected to a tariff similar to that spoken of on our exportations of tobacco and flour. But if the manufacturing nation has no such colonies, imported cotton is admitted from the United States or some other cotton growing country lightly "burdened" and generally paid for in manufactured fabrics.—

What we have said of tobacco, flour and cotton will apply to rice, lumber and all other exported articles.

The writer knows something of the principle of a game called *snap*. The *cream* of the game is this:—if those who play at it continue as long as their money lasts, the game-keeper is certain to *pocket the whole of it*. Just so with the tariff imposed upon our exports by foreign nations which have constantly been playing upon us the game of *snap*—their custom-house officers are the game keepers and they have pocketed a large portion of our money, and *fleeced* us of most of our exports.

We next contrast our tariff with that of foreign nations. An importation of fabrics arrives consisting of cloths. The first quality of broad cloth is sold or valued at the custom house at eight dollars a yard and pays a tariff of one dollar and sixty cents a yard, which leaves the foreign importer six dollars and forty cents a yard after paying the duty. Now, if the duty were four dollars a yard, he would have but four dollars a yard after paying duty, and two dollars and forty cents more, on each yard, would be paid into the Treasury. We next take the second quality which is sold or valued at six dollars a yard *ad valorem*, and pays a duty of one dollar and twenty cents a yard and leaves the foreign importer four dollars and eighty cents a yard after paying the duty. If the duty were three dollars a yard, he would only have three dollars a yard left after paying the tariff, and one dollar and eighty cents more on each yard would go to the Treasury. The intelligent reader will apply the arithmetical principle throughout the cargo; and then do not forget to apply the rule and principles to *all* fabrics and articles of every kind which can be produced and manufactured, to any required extent, in our own country and by our own agriculturalists, shepherds and mechan-

ics. Upon the principles of a protecting tariff, discriminately and judiciously laid, some articles would be admitted free of duty; others, lightly touched; and others, heavily. Those who go against a protective tariff, contend for the unsound and *withering* principle that a dollar's worth of tea or coffee, neither of which can be produced in the United States, should pay as much duty as a pair of *shoes* valued at a dollar. Is this sound policy? What say you, farmers and mechanics? If the government gives a just preference to our own cordwainers and other mechanics, they, in turn, will purchase from the farmers provisions for their families, and appear at their market-houses, with baskets on their arms, presenting cheerful countenances. Why is it that so many mechanics apply for the benefit of the insolvent laws, whilst others are out of employment? Is it for the want of industry or sound morals? No. It is because government does not protect them from foreign competition. Our mechanics do not ask for extravagant prices for their labour and manufactured articles; they only ask for employment.

Sometime ago the writer purchased a pair of shoes, at a shop, for which he paid two dollars and seventy-five cents. He intimated that he thought the price too high, and asked the mechanic if he could not sell them lower; he appeared disposed to evade the question; the writer renewed it, and he answered, with evident reluctance, "that if he could sell all he could make, he could afford to take less."—There the conversation ended; but he spoke volumes in support of the protective system. Were it not for the vast quantity of imported shoes, the price of domestic would be greatly reduced, and the profits of the mechanics increased by the additional number which they would sell; they would pay their debts in money or in their manufactured articles, and not by the benefit of the insolvent laws; the interests of our agriculturists and mechanics would be united like partners in business, and both classes could not fail to prosper.

But it may be asked how the protective system would act upon an American merchant who would purchase fabrics and various articles of merchandize from a foreign

nation, and import them into the United States? The answer is easy, and is at hand. The merchants as well know their interest as do farmers and mechanics know theirs—not better. A merchant well knowing the duties which the imported articles would have to pay at an American custom-house, would only purchase at such a reduced price as would subject the foreign merchant or manufacturer to the payment of the duty; or, if, for argument sake, he acted differently, the loss would fall upon *him*, not upon the consumers. If an American merchant should act so unwisely as to purchase a cargo of coal at Liverpool, and transport it to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, he alone would pay for his folly.

It should be borne in mind that it is not the money expended and circulated in a country that impoverishes it, and paralyses the physical and moral actions of the people: but it is the money that is *sent out of it, or locked up in vaults and withheld from circulation*. Wherever money circulates freely, the energies of the whole people are usefully developed, and are potent, and a wholesome state of morals exists. In all countries in which money is concentrated in the hands of the *few*, the *many* are sunk in human misery and degradation—there is not a single exception. Besides “the labourer is worthy of his hire,” and no man is so industrious as to work for nothing and find himself, rather than to be idle. It is as much the duty of government to adopt and carry out measures with a view to stimulate the people to industry, the foundation of health and sound morals, and to secure to them the fruits of their labour, by protecting them from foreign competition, as it is the duty of parents to instruct their children in industry and business habits, and impress upon them the importance of good morals.

The second position assumed by president Jackson is “that to return to the states or the people, any surplus revenue improperly drawn from them would produce *“widespread corruption.”* This is a new principle in ethics, subsequently contradicted by the venerable ex-president himself, by his urging the passage of a bill (now, at the time of writing,) pending before Congress, asking the re-

turn to him of a thousand dollars—a fine imposed upon him by judge Hall, for establishing martial law at New Orleans during the late war, and which he alleges was improperly and unjustly abstracted from him. If the bill should pass, and he receives the money, he will sanction a principle which he, in his eighth annual message, declared would produce “wide-spread corruption.” If government or an individual improperly and unjustly takes from *one* money or property, its return would be but justice, and his receiving it would not be an immoral act, nor can it be fairly said that its reception could have a tendency to corrupt him. Upon the principle advanced in the message, payment ought to be withheld from an honest creditor, because the payment might corrupt him; and property or money, forcibly and unjustly taken, ought to be withheld, to prevent corrupting the rightful owner. But if the principle advanced by president Jackson is correct, why not strike at the root of the evil, and eradicate it, by prohibiting the importation of such articles as can be produced or manufactured in our own country with convenience, and to any required amount, and admit such necessary articles, only, as would raise a tariff sufficient for the support of government and thus prevent the wolf from entering the sheep-fold?

The maxim that it is “against the genius of our free institutions to lock up in vaults the treasure of the nation,” is sound. But the conclusion that the distribution of money among the people, which it is alleged was unnecessarily drawn, would create “wide spread corruption,” is truly a paradox. The reference made to the banks making large profits out of the deposits will be attended to in the chapter upon banks.

The references made to table A. renders its publication unnecessary. The distribution bill proposed to distribute the surplus money among the states in proportion to the number of electoral votes cast by each state, for president and vice president, instead of a distribution proportioned to the number of inhabitants, by which Delaware and other small states, each having as many senators as the large states, and an elector for each senator, would receive a

fraction more than their proportion. "Inequality is not always injustice," said president Jackson, in his second annual message, recommending distribution upon the very principle which he now denounces as calculated to produce "wide spread corruption."!!! The inequality complained of could have been removed by a bill providing for the distribution in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The principle of "penny wise and pound foolish," and the practice of "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel," have never been productive of great benefits.

The following letter from Gen. Jackson contains sentiments which are entertained by the advocates of a protective tariff. The following *facts* should be considered with the contents of the letter. At the period of its date the author of it, together with Mr. Crawford, the regularly nominated Republican candidate, Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, were before the people for the presidency, and the election took place the ensuing fall. Secondly, it was industriously circulated by the *friends* of Gen. Jackson. Third and lastly, we have his authority for saying that his sentiments did not undergo a change until *after* he was re-elected in '32, and *after* the national debt was liquidated. In the lengthy quotation in the preceeding pages, from his last annual message of Dec. '36, he speaks of a change of sentiment upon the tariff question, to which the reader can turn. Ten years before the people as the advocate of a protective tariff; elected and re-elected as an advocate of the protective system; under its operation paid off the public debt, left a surplus of nearly forty millions, and then denounced the system as calculated to corrupt the people and ruin the country. It is considered the height of ingratitude for a man to turn his heel against his benefactor, after having received from him all he asked for, and then denounce him as having been influenced in his acts of generosity and kindness by impure motives. The writer does not impeach or question the motives of Gen. Jackson for abandoning the protective system which aided in bringing him into power, paid off the national debt and stimulated the people to industry and laudable enterprise. The opinions and sentiments of all men are more or less formed

by surrounding circumstances, and their peculiar cast of mind. An infant, the offspring of Christian parents, transported to Morocco, raised and educated there, would be a Mussulman; and an infant, the offspring of Mahometan parents, transferred to the United States, raised and educated here, would be a Christian.

GEN. JACKSON TO DR. COLMAN.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1824.

Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. That same Providence has blessed us with means of national independence and national defence. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which He has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of His blessing. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron and copper, and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the great materials of our national defence, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection: that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe; and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential to war.

I will ask what is the real situation of the agriculturalist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus produce? Except for cotton he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture? Common sense at once points out the remedy. Take from agriculture in the United States six hundred thousand men, women and children, and you will at once give a market for more bread stuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more "Americanized," and instead of feeding paupers and laborers of England, feed our own; or else, in a short time, by continuing our policy, we shall be rendered paupers ourselves. It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and to afford us means of that defence within ourselves on which the safety of our

country depends; and last though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

The opponents of the protective system, who are governed by abstractions, regardless of surrounding circumstances, which govern and qualify abstractions, frequently refer to the oppressive effect of the British corn laws as a poser to the arguments in support of protection. But all our standards of language give different meanings to the words *protection* and *oppression*; they are not synonymous. Upon the principles of a protective tariff, as contended for by its advocates, the British corn laws ought to be *repealed*. What would be *protective* and *beneficial* in one country, would be *oppressive* and *distressing* in an other, surrounded by different and unavoidable circumstances, locality, soil and productions, extent and population. The limits of the British island are so small compared with its population, that, if every man on it had his pockets full of gold, a sufficiency of bread and other provisions could not, generally, be procured for all the inhabitants, if importations were prohibited. Corn, the most productive of all grain in a genial soil and climate, cannot be successfully cultivated; and wheat is a precarious crop. Cobbett, and a few others, cultivated corn in England; but it was soon abandoned, as it was found that its cultivation decreased the quantity of grain raised. If the population of England was as small in proportion to its territory as is the population of the United States, and as great a surplus of grain annually raised, the price would be so low that no foreign country could afford to export bread stuff to England, even if it were admitted duty free, unless it was occasionally taken as ballast in place of sand. Such is the vast extent of territory of the United States, the variety of soil and climate, its general fertility, that a vast surplus of grain is annually produced for exportation. And if the government were to adopt just such corn laws as they have in England, they would subject us to ridicule, but we would not hear of the labour-

ing class suffering for bread. Such laws could not raise the price of provisions in the United States.

It would be cruel to reproach a man afflicted by a fever or any other bodily disease which he could not have avoided; equally cruel, perhaps, would it be to reproach a man whose judgment is so completely superseded by *party* as to believe that if the United States were to enact just such corn laws as those of England, the labouring class would be pinched by hunger. Now, as the body of the people are honest, having no wish to deceive or be deceived, it is only necessary for them to lay aside party fetters and exercise their reasoning faculties. Suppose Congress should enact just such corn laws as those of England, would they reduce the quantity of grain and other provisions, increase prices of provisions and produce hunger and distress among the labouring class? The answer is submitted to the reader. Those who refer to the corn laws of England as affording an argument against a protective tariff, act as absurdly as they would by declaring that the proper mode to decide the question would be to lock up a number of men in prison, allow each, daily, an ounce of bread, and if it were not sufficient to support him, that the protective system ought to be abandoned. The protective system can be supported upon the principle of reason, and can only be opposed upon the principle of party supplying the place of argument and established facts.

If the opponents of protection can succeed it will be a triumphant victory for the governments of Europe, whose interest and object it is to destroy all our manufactories and work shops; and, whilst the great body of the people would suffer from the policy, they could derive no benefit from the motives of its advocates, however pure. The opponents of the protective system in Congress, represent the interest and intentions of the European governments, so far as the tariff question is concerned, as fully as could an equal number of members delegated by European governments; but with greater effect. It is not the motives of the opponents of protection that are called into question;—but their measures. The writer daily meets in the streets of Hagerstown, worthy and industrious mechanics who are

out of employment, not on account of the British corn laws producing a scarcity of bread in the United States, but because the vast amount of importations deprive them of a market or demand for their manufactured articles. It will not furnish them with food and raiment to tell them that the opponents of protection are influenced by correct motives, and that they must "stick to their party," even if their children should cry for bread, and, together with their parents, suffer from hunger and cold whilst surrounded by plenty. — If we were henceforth and forever cut off from commerce and communication with every other nation, we would stand in the relative position of a *distinct world*, as much so, as if we were separated millions of miles from any other. As we can readily suppose such a case, what would be our situation? The present inhabitants would be deprived of some of the luxuries of life but our posterity would not. What is a luxury in one section of the world is not so in another. An apple in the West Indies is as great a luxury as an orange in Canada.

It would be better for the United States to be placed in the situation supposed, than to adopt the policy of the opponents of protection, which, if carried out, will benefit stock jobbers and individuals of large capital—benefit one man and impoverish hundreds. The extent of our territory, and its variety of soil and climate, are sufficient to afford all the necessaries and comforts of life; both food and raiment. The fact that this globe constitutes but one world, affords no argument against a protective tariff.— And desirable as it is to every philanthropist to have commercial and friendly intercourse with all the nations of the earth, that desire can only be founded in interest. Interested motives, which are not founded in unjust principles, but purely of a national character, are laudable. The preference which parents give to their own offspring is not injustice to the children of others; and, upon the same principle, it is the duty of our government, yea, it is the object for which it was formed, to protect and advance the prosperity and comfort of its own subjects or constituents as far as practicable, without injustice to other nations.

CHAPTER IV.

On Protective Duties and National Economy.

JOHN T. MASON.

The writer will next review a speech delivered by Mr. Mason in the House of Representatives, July 1842, in opposition to the protective system. Not that he considers it the ablest speech that he has read upon the subject, but he considers it equal to any, and he is one of Mr. Mason's constituents. Cherishing a high personal respect for Mr. Mason, but differing with him politically, the writer would not make any reference to that gentleman's speech, were it not that, from the relative position of representative and constituent, silence might be considered disrespectful. Mr. Mason was chosen, at the first election after his age rendered him eligible, a representative to Congress. As young birds, just fledged, are eager to soar as high as the towering eagle, unaware of the danger which surrounds them, Mr. Mason was emulated by a laudable ambition to give such a development of the power of his mind and genius, in prose and poetry, as would meet the expectation of his political friends. The substance of his arguments in *opposition to the protection of American industry*, appears to be concentrated in the quotation which follows:—

“Do the people believe that the tariff frees us from taxation altogether? Surely not! Though no tax-gatherers surround their houses, yet, upon almost every article that they use or wear, they pay a tax in the shape of duties. It has been oft and oft asserted that duties do not raise the price of articles. Two gentlemen [Mr. THOMPSON of Indiana and Mr. BARNARD of New York] laboured hard and ably to prove this position. They rely upon facts as worth more than arguments. I am free to admit that facts have shown that the price of articles has not been raised with laying duties upon them. This is not, however, universally the case. But can these gentlemen, or any one else, show how the laying of duties can have any such effect? It is said we have only to do with the *fact*, and not with how the fact is produced. They mistake the cause. The explanation of the

fact that the price of an article is not always increased, or is sometimes diminished simultaneously with the laying of the duty upon it, is not because a duty is laid upon it, but it is owing to the coincidence that the demand for that article is diminished, or its supply increased, in the same or in a greater proportion than the duty laid upon it. When the price of an article is thus affected, take away the duty, and it will receive a further fall to the same extent of the duty precisely. But it may be said that the laying of duties affects the supply and demand. If this be true, no one has attempted to show it, nor can any one show it. Articles are referred to, and, with an air of triumph, we are told that their entire price is less even than the duty upon the article. This is very often true. But is it not easily seen, that in such cases the duty is inoperative? It has been raised so high as to amount to an entire exclusion of the article from abroad—to a prohibition. You may, then, pile upon it as much duty as you please, and you cannot affect it. The price is entirely regulated by our home supply. It is not necessary for me to add that, when such results are produced, revenue ceases, at least from that quarter. It is absurd to contend that when an article of foreign production enters into our home consumption, and thereby becomes a legitimate object of taxation, it is not affected by the duties which may be imposed upon it. It is, and just to the amount of the duty. Were it not so, we would be required to believe that a man might pay his taxes, and make money by the transaction. I wish some one of my colleagues, friendly to this measure, would introduce into Maryland such a system, by which, in paying off a *little* debt of fifteen millions, they would grow richer. I have heard, sir, of many a way of making money, but this is really the newest and most approved mode—that of *making money by paying taxes*. It is well, sir, if it be true; for, as Shakespeare says,

“Nothing comes amiss, so money comes withal.”

Again: How does this theory affect the protective system? Why, if it be true, it would break down the whole policy. It is the very foundation of the system that duties raise the price of imported articles; and, in the same proportion, ex-

clude them, and give place for home-manufactured articles. If this be not the case, how can a tariff operate as a protection."

The speech of Mr. Mason may be compared to a wilderness, rendered beautiful and attractive by its flowering shrubbery, which conceals the quicksands, through which a man could only pass with great difficulty, after divesting himself of baggage. The language and well-turned periods cannot fail to captivate a man who would mistake words for arguments. It has been positively proved that the use of stoves has lessened the quantity of fuel previously consumed in open fire places without diminishing heat and comfort; but it is not contended that stoves could be so constructed as to produce heat and comfort without consuming any fuel, but *causing it to accumulate*. What would be said in reply to the arguments of a man who would assert that the introduction of stoves had not been a saving of fuel, and who would found his arguments on the self-evident fact that stoves will not produce heat and comfort without any fuel? Whatever reply would be applicable to such arguments, will apply with equal force to all the arguments against a protective tariff. Whilst it has been positively proved that protective duties have caused some articles to fall in prices, (which is admitted by Mr. M., who is not satisfied with facts,) it is not contended by any rational man, that a tariff can be so adjusted as to enable any class of our mechanics to furnish their manufactured articles for *nothing*, and *pay a premium for taking them off their hands*. Mr. Mason's merriment is founded in his paradoxical ingenuity; his premises have no more existence, except in imagination, than a poet's Muse, or Sancho in the novel of the renowned Cervantes.

The writer will not repeat the arguments previously used in support of protection, but will suppose two systems in farming. Farmers A. and B., being neighbours, own farms of equal fertility, and each, for a number of years, seeded his ground at the rate of one bushel of wheat to the acre, and reaped an average of twenty fold. It occurred to each that he could increase the quantity per acre by increasing the quantity of seed. Farmer A. reasoned thus: If one bushel of seed will produce twenty bushels to the acre, five bush-

els will produce one hundred. Here he committed an error in the principle of PROPORTION. If one bushel to the acre was too little, it did not follow that five were not too much. He tried the experiment, and, to use a common phrase, it was too thick to thrive; and instead of reaping one hundred bushels to the acre, he did not reap five, and they, too, of inferior quality. He then reasoned thus: I have lost a crop, but I have discovered the "philosopher's stone;" instead of sowing five times more to the acre I should have sown five times less. The ensuing year, he sowed a peck to the acre, and it was then too thin to support itself and properly occupy the ground, and "*tares* sprang up and choked it," and the last error of that man was worse than the first. He not only lost two crops, but the tares and other vicious intruders so poisoned his land that it required years of toil to bring it into a healthy and productive state. Farmer B. studied the principle of PROPORTION. He had not a doubt that the product per acre could be increased by increasing the proportion of seed, but the difficulty was how far he could increase the seed per acre without destroying an EQUILIBRIUM. He at length decided upon five pecks to the acre, and he reaped twenty-five bushels to the acre, being an increase upon arithmetical principles. He gained, not only by increasing the quantity of grain, but he increased the quantity of straw in the same proportion, and thereby increased the quantity of food for his cattle, and they, in return, furnished an larger portion of manure, which he spread upon his land and increased its fertility. Disclaiming anything offensive, might not farmer A. be compared to a democrat opposing a protective tariff under any circumstances whatever; and B. to a whig supporting a tariff suited to surrounding circumstances, so balanced and proportioned as to produce an EQUILIBRIUM? The writer could continue this simple process of reasoning; but having advanced principles which he thinks cannot be refuted, he submits to the candour of the reader to draw conclusions. He would quote Mr. Mason's speech at full length, if he believed that justice to him required it. The lengthy quotation made appears to him to be a correct recapitulation of all Mr. Mason's arguments against protection, and the substance of all the

arguments he ever read or heard upon that side of the question. He submits to the candid reader whether the subject ought not to be examined without regard to party politics. All the arguments in opposition to a protective, not an oppressive tariff may be compared to a *sleeveless garment without a body!* Suppose the people of this county who employ mechanics were to purchase shoes, boots and hats from those residing in a neighbouring county, would not such a course be illiberal and ungenerous towards the mechanics of this county? Is not the preference given to foreign mechanics a serious injury not only to our own but to all classes of society? The questions are worthy of most serious and impartial consideration.

CHAPTER V.

On Protective Duties and National Economy.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

The Hon. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, delivered a speech, in the Senate on the 5th of August, in which he, like Mr. Mason, took a one-sided view of the subject. He is as versatile in his political sentiments and judgment as he is fruitful in imagination; and as he has been for and against almost every important measure of the government, for the last thirty years, he would seldom be quoted for authority were it not for his great weight of moral character. It is to be regretted that Mr. Calhoun has never compared his conflicting sentiments upon important subjects, and tried to prove that he had shaped his policy in accordance with that of foreign nations and surrounding circumstances, or have candidly acknowledged that his mind had undergone a change. But no instance, it is believed, can be produced in which Mr. Calhoun acknowledged that his sentiments had undergone a change, or gave any explanation.

In 1816, Mr. Calhoun was a high tariff man. The same

year he was the champion of a national bank, and has subsequently exultingly spoke of his exertions in establishing the United States bank. Same year, on his motion, a resolution was amended so as to receive bank notes in payment of public dues.

1838—He declared it to be *unconstitutional* to receive bank notes in payment of public dues.

1837—Believes a national bank dangerous and unconstitutional.

1816—Advocates the internal improvement system.

1828—Is opposed to the same.

1832—Declares the tariff unconstitutional, and resorts to nullification.

1828—Is elected vice-president on the Jackson ticket.

1831 '2—Gave the casting vote, as vice-president, to recall Mr. Van Buren from England, and nullify his nomination, by President Jackson, as minister.

1834—Is a violent enemy to Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, and acts with the whigs against them.

1837—Is violently opposed to the sub-treasury—recommended by Van Buren at the extra session of that year—and to a repeal of the distribution act.

At the ensuing annual session of Congress, supports the sub-treasury and advocates a repeal of the distribution act previously recommended by president Jackson.

1838—Advocates the administration of Mr. Van Buren and continues his support throughout that administration.

1841—Votes for a bill, previously introduced by himself, to cede the whole of the public lands to the states in which they are located.

1842—Votes against a bill to distribute the proceeds of the lands among all of the states. [Upon Mr. Calhoun's principle, it is morally wrong to transfer the public lands to *all* the states, but right and proper to transfer them to a *part* of the states.]

The foregoing is a summary of the prominent tergiversations of Mr. Calhoun, who is as changeable as the wind and unstable as water. Such, however, is his weight of moral character, that he is termed the "honest nullifier," and his sincerity is not called into question. As we are now

discussing the protective system, and as the eloquence and talents of Mr. Calhoun have been employed for and against the policy, it is worthy of consideration which side of the question is orthodox; one or the other is heterodox. Upon abstract principles, Mr. Calhoun's testimony for and against protection is entitled to equal credit. After denouncing the tariff of 1828 as the bill of abominations, and the one under consideration as "more onerous," and indulging in flippant denunciations, he bases himself upon the following premises:

"On all articles on which duties can be imposed, there is a point in the rate of duties which may be called the maximum point of revenue—that is, a point at which the greatest amount of revenue would be raised. If it be elevated above that, the importation of the article would fall off more rapidly than the duty would be raised; and if depressed below it, the reverse effect would follow: that is, the duty would decrease more rapidly than the importation would increase."

The foregoing premises are admitted, in their general application, though they may not be strictly correct upon arithmetical principles. It is now worthy of consideration whether it is not practicable to arrive at a maximum point of duties upon some articles, if not all, which would throw the payment upon the *producer* instead of the *consumer*, as is argued by the opponents of protection. The framers of the constitution did not consider import and export duties as equivalents. In the 1st Article, Sec. 9, is a clause in the following words: "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state." No individual will suffer his surplus productions of any kind to perish on his hands, if he can sell them for more than the cost of sending them to market; and the price must, invariably, be governed by quantity, demand and the ability to pay for them. A duty may readily be laid on any article so high as to amount to prohibition, or to impose the payment of a *part*, but not all, of the duty upon the consumer. Upon the same principle, a duty may be laid so judiciously as to impose the payment on the *producers*. Those who cross ferries pay the toll, for which they receive no equivalent except that

of being transferred to the opposite shore at a desired point. The ferriage might be so high as to force travellers to avoid them, seek other crossings or stay on their own side of the water. There is a maximum point which ought to be based upon reciprocal interest, having due regard to the general good and public welfare. The whole people of our confederacy should be considered as a national family, and their various wants and interests properly provided for. We have no right to controul the internal civil policy of foreign nations; neither are we morally bound to promote their interest to the injury of our own. Mr. Calhoun next asserts:

“But there never yet has been devised a scheme of emptying the pockets of one portion of the community into those of the other, however unjust or oppressive, for which plausible reasons could not be found; and, few have been so prolific of such as that under consideration. Among them, one of the most plausible is that the competition, which is asked to be excluded, is that of foreigners. The competition is represented to be between home and foreign industry: and he who opposes what is asked, is held up as a friend to foreign, and the enemy to home industry, and is regarded as very little short of being a traitor to his country. I take issue on the fact. I deny that there is, or can be, any competition between home and foreign industry, but through the latter; and assert that the real competition, in all cases is, and must be, between one branch of home industry and another. To make good the position taken, I rely on a simple fact, which none will deny;—that imports are received in exchange for exports. From that, it follows, if there be no export trade, there will be no import trade; and that to cut off the exports, is to cut off the imports. It is, then, not the imports, but the exports which are exchanged for them, and without which they would not be introduced at all, that causes, in reality, the competition. It matters not how low the wages of other countries may be, and how cheap their productions, if we have no exports, they cannot compete with ours.”

It is to be regretted that expletives, denunciations, ridicule, sarcasms, bold assertions and unqualified accusations,

are, with many persons, considered potent arguments; and the Bible has been denounced a jest book. But the latter portion of the quotation is argumentative, and imports and exports considered upon the principle of *barter*, without even an effort to prove that low duties on our side would be equivalent to high duties on the other side of the water, and place the rule of barter on principles of reciprocity; this would have been an uphill business for Mr. Calhoun, and he avoided it. No complaint is made by him to the high duties which our exports are subjected to in foreign ports. The cotton of the south, after passing through the gin, is ready for the manufacturer; so are wheat and other grain after they pass through threshing and shelling machines and fans, prepared for the miller. The population of the United States is, in round numbers, seventeen millions; and about that number of barrels of flour, or an equivalent of bread stuff, would be sufficient for the annual consumption. The tariff which we pay on our exports to foreign nations, considered upon the principle of barter, as it is placed by Mr. Calhoun, reduces our exports, upon an average, at least one-half. Now the question is, ought we to meet this curtail by a corresponding rate of duty? Mr. Calhoun's arguments are in the negative, upon the principle, that foreign nations will only *barter* with us upon the principle of *high duties* on their part and *low duties* on ours. If this unequal barter is advantageous to us, we ought to ship to foreign nations grain, equivalent to forty millions of barrels of flour and barter it for bread stuff equivalent to half that amount. So long as the United States can produce grain to the extent of double the quantity consumed, the unequal barter could be kept up. What we say upon the article of grain, bartered for flour and bread stuff, will apply to all articles which we export. The United States are prolific in productions; but it does not follow that the vast surplus should be exchanged on the unequal principle of barter contended for by the cotton planters, to the injury and injustice of all other classes of citizens. Mr. Calhoun closes his theory upon the rule of barter in anticipated triumph.

"The great popular party is already rallied almost *en masse*

around the banner which is leading the party to its final triumph. The few that still lag, will soon be rallied under its ample folds. On that banner is inscribed: **FREE TRADE; LOW DUTIES; SEPARATION FROM BANKS; ECONOMY; RETRENCHMENT, AND STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION.** Victory in such a cause will be great and glorious; and, if its principles be faithfully and firmly adhered to, after it is achieved, much will it redound to the honor of those by whom it will have been won; and long will it perpetuate the liberty and prosperity of the country."

As well might the negroes, whilst writhing under the lash of their "task masters," be told that they are **FREE-MEN**, as for the honest nullifier to tell the people that **LOW DUTIES**, on our part, will produce **FREE TRADE, NO DEBT** and be equivalent to **HIGH DUTIES** on the part of foreign nations, and that it would be to our advantage to give *two coon skins* for *one* to keep up the trade of *barter* with foreign powers. The truth is that the honest nullifier is one of the greatest advocates for a **PROTECTIVE TARIFF** in the Union. But his protective principles are *selfish* and *sectional*—confined to the cotton growing states. Disclaiming anything invidious or disrespectful, but to speak figuratively, Mr. Calhoun's head is lined with cotton and other soft substances which he cannot weave into a fabric, and he concludes, that if cotton goods are not admitted at low duties, the people of the south must do without clothing. In South Carolina there are (as the writer understands and believes,) but two general classes of society, with the exception of an intermediate or connecting class. The working class consists of mules and negroes which perform the labour; the negroes require but little clothing, and like their fellow labourers, the mules, subsist on low and coarse food. The high order of society constitute the land holders, who are intelligent and selfish; advocating the protection of raw cotton, upon the principle of admitting imported cotton fabrics at low duties. The connecting class consists of overseers, who have sufficient intelligence to manage the mules and negroes.

The emperor of Russia is as much opposed to banking institutions as is Mr. Calhoun, who, when in the Republi-

can track, was the father of the U. S. bank, and made a merit in declaring that he done more than any other man in the nation to bring it into existence. It was approved by president Madison, one of the purest republicans and enlightened statesmen that the United States ever produced. His political talents and philanthropy, like the rays of the sun in May, were mild and vivific; but Mr. Calhoun, having descended to perigee, his principles are as biting and withering as a north-wester in January. The hard-money philanthropists term the working class the 'bone and sinew,' and in all hard-money countries the *bone* and *sinew* are stript of their *flesh*; i. e. they are reduced to ignorance, venality, and degrading servility—more wretched than the negroes on the cotton plantations. Genuine democracy is invigorating; spurious democracy is withering.

CHAPTER VI.

On Protective Duties and National Economy.

HENRY CLAY.

Having given the sentiments of president Jackson, Mr. Mason and Mr. Calhoun, in *opposition* to fostering home-industry, and in *support* of foreign labour and the policy of European nations to keep us in a state of dependence and poverty, it is the duty of the writer, as an impartial copyist, (but exclusively American in principles), to lay before the reader some arguments in support of the invigorating policy of the American System. He copies from a speech delivered by the Hon. Henry Clay in the Senate in February, 1832, in reply to Hon. R. Y. Hayne, a cotton planter from S. Carolina. Mr. Clay's remarks are not clothed in metaphysical speculations; they are plain and easy to comprehend and are impressed with a brilliant genius, which as naturally flows from Mr. Clay as rays of light from the sun. The reader will discover also that Mr. Clay states the policy pursued against this country by Great

Britain, when we were under the colonial government, which policy that proud nation still attempts to enforce against us, which she could not effect, but for the advocates of her policy in this country.

After his introduction, and some remarks of a general character, Mr. Clay said—

“Eight years ago it was my painful duty to present to the other house of Congress, an unexaggerated picture of the general distress pervading the whole land. We all know that the people were then oppressed and borne down by an enormous load of debts; that the value of property was at the lowest point of depression; that ruinous sales and sacrifices were every where made of real estate; that stop laws and relief laws and paper money were adopted to save the people from depending destruction; that a deficit in the public revenue existed, which compelled government to seize upon, and divert from its legitimate object, the appropriation to the sinking fund, to redeem the national debt; and that our commerce and navigation were threatened with a complete paralysis. In short, sir, if I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present constitution, which exhibited a scene of the most wide-spread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the establishment of the tariff of 1824.”

“I have now to perform the pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey we behold cultivation extended, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and profitably employed, and the public countenance exhibiting tranquility, contentment and happiness. And, if we transcend into particulars, we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt; land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready, though not an extravagant, market for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds browsing and gambolling on ten thousand hills and plains covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up, as it were, by enchantment; our exports and imports increasing;

our tonnage, foreign and coast-wise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the perpetual thunder and lightning of countless steam-boats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and, to crown all, the public treasury overflowing, embarrassing Congress, not to find subjects of taxation, but to select the objects which shall be liberated from the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected, of the greatest prosperity which this people has enjoyed since the establishment of their present constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

"This transformation of the condition of the country from gloom and distress to brightness and prosperity, has been mainly the work of American legislation; fostering American industry, instead of allowing it to be controlled by foreign legislation, cherishing foreign industry. The foes of the American System, in 1824, with the great boldness and confidence, predicted, 1st—The ruin of the public revenue and the creation of a necessity to resort to direct taxation. 2nd—The destruction of our navigation.—3rd—The desolation of commercial cities. And 4th—The augmentation of the price of objects of consumption and further decline in that of articles of our exports. Every prediction which they made has failed—utterly failed.—Instead of the ruin of the public revenue, with which they then sought to deter us from the adoption of the American System, we are now threatened with its subversion, by the vast amount of public revenue produced by that system.—Every branch of our navigation has increased. As to the desolation of our cities, let us take, as an example, the condition of the largest and most commercial of all of them, the great northern capital. I have in my hands the assessed value of real estate in New York, from 1817 to 1831. This value is canvassed, contested, scrutinized and adjudged by the proper sworn authorities. It is, therefore, entitled to full credence. During the first term commencing with 1817, and ending in the year of the tariff of 1824, the amount of the value of real estate was, the first year, fifty-seven millions, seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand,

four hundred and thirty-five dollars, and, after various fluctuations in the intermediate period, it settled down at fifty-two millions, nineteen thousand seven hundred and thirty dollars, exhibiting a decrease, in seven years, of five millions, seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand, seven hundred and five dollars. During the first year (1825,) after the passage of the tariff, it rose and gradually ascending throughout the whole of the latter period of seven years, it finally, in 1831, reached the astonishing height of ninety-five millions, seven hundred and sixteen thousand, four hundred and eighty-five dollars. Now, if it be said that this rapid growth of the city of New York was the effect of *foreign commerce*, then, it was not correctly predicted, in 1824, that the tariff would destroy foreign commerce and desolate our commercial cities. If, on the contrary, it be the effect of internal trade, then internal trade cannot be justly chargeable with the evil consequences imputed to it. The truth is, it is the joint effect of both principles; the domestic industry nourishing the foreign trade, and the foreign commerce, in turn, nourishing the domestic industry. Nowhere, more than in New York, is the combination of both principles so completely developed. In the progress of my arguments, I will consider the effect upon the price of commodities, produced by the American System, and show that the very reverse of the prediction of its foes, in 1824, has actually happened."

Appended to Mr. Clay's speech is an appendix, showing the tonnage of the United States for each year from 1815 to 1829, inclusive. Also, the value of real estate in New York, for each year from 1817 to 1831, inclusive. The increase of tonnage from 1815 to 1829 was four hundred and fifty thousand, three hundred and sixty-three tons. It is worthy of remark, also, that the tonnage, at the close of the year 1823, was forty-one thousand, five hundred and sixty-two tons *less* than at the close of the year 1815; and consequently that the tonnage, shipping and commerce were decreasing from 1817 up to the tariff of 1824. The actual increase of the tonnage from 1824 to 1829, both inclusive, is four hundred and ninety-one thousand, nine hundred and twenty-five tons; equal to the tonnage of four

hundred ships of the line, or eight hundred merchant ships of the first class; and actually *increasing* the number of merchant vessels to the burthen and capacity of eight hundred first-rate merchant ships; giving employment to mechanics in building and repairing them, and regular employment to six or eight thousand seamen in navigating them. It appears, then, from official documents, that, in the absence of a protecting tariff, our ships decrease in number and burthen; our commerce is less productive; the energy of man is paralysed and he is disheartened. Such is the connection between our commercial, manufacturing and agricultural transactions, that, to speak figuratively, they are *partners*; the interest of one is the interest of all. They may be compared to joint-partners, owning all the property and money of the nation and trading on it. Whatever policy injures one partner, injures all; and, *vice versa*, the policy which benefits one, benefits all. The most uncompromising opponents of protection admit that it *lowers* the price of some articles, but contend that it *raises* the price of others. Not a single fact has been presented in support of the latter, and all their arguments have been founded upon imaginary premises which have no foundation or connection with fact. Any man can argue as well from false as from true premises. Suppose it be assumed that a man has committed a murder; if innocent, his innocence could not avail him anything; if the charge is to be assumed as a fact, his innocence could have no influence with the court or jury.

The reader will bear in mind that a tariff, to be protective, must be discriminating; without which it is impossible to produce and preserve an equilibrium upon beneficial principles. It is intended to be applied to such articles, only, as are in their original or raw state—of the vegetable or mineral productions of the United States.

We will take the foregoing as our text, though it would have been more appropriate at the commencement of the discourse. A tariff upon tea and coffee could only be applicable to revenue for the support of government, not protection. No man, in his senses, will say that a tariff upon tea and coffee would reduce the price to the consumer; but

it is asserted, upon proof as self-evident to any inquiring, intelligent, unprejudiced man as is his own existence, that it does reduce the price of various articles which, in their raw and unpolished state, are of the vegetable and mineral productions of our country.

The appendix gives the assessed value of real property in New York each year, from 1817 to 1831, inclusive.— There was, it is believed, no expansion or contraction of the limits of the city during the period of fourteen years. The depreciation during the seven years which preceded the tariff of 1824, and the increase during the seven years which followed, are as astonishing as they are interesting, and are among the many arguments in favour of the protective system which cannot be refuted. That the protective system would produce great and general benefits, can be as clearly demonstrated, to the satisfaction of an intelligent and unbiassed mind, as that two and three make five. But, alas! it is a whig measure.

The Globe gives a report of a debate in the Senate of the United States in which there was some sharp shooting by both parties, particularly from their heavy artillery; but little use was made of muskets, in which Mr. Bagby, a democratic senator, is reported to have said: "For his own part, if the devil, himself, were to recommend to this Congress a measure which he (Mr. B.) thought to be right, he would not be so far blinded as to refuse to do what his judgment and his conscience dictated." The sentiment advanced by Mr. Bagby contains a sound principle, to support or oppose measures from the dictates of conscience, and with reference to the general good, without regard to party. If opposing politicians would discuss subjects with a view of discriminating between proper and improper measures, party politicians would be a blessing. But, unfortunately for us, the inquiry frequently arises, "Is he a democrat or a whig?" "Is it a whig or a democratic measure?" Upon all subjects, unconnected with politics, the people of the United States, are earnestly in search of truth, and using laudable means in the pursuit of happiness. "Measures and not men," is a wholesome political maxim; but *party*, not *measures*, is an unwholesome principle, productive of,

and producing much evil. We continue the quotation:—

“It comprehends our coasting trade, from which all foreign tonnage is absolutely excluded.

“It includes all our foreign tonnage, with the inconsiderable exception made by treaties of reciprocity with a few foreign powers.

It embraces our fisheries, and all our hardy and enterprising fishermen.

“It extends to almost every mechanic art: to tanners, cord-wainers, tailors, cabinet-makers, tallow-chandlers, trace-makers, rope-makers, cork-cutters, tobacconists, whip-makers, umbrella-makers, glass-blowers, stocking-weavers, button-makers, saddle and harness-makers, cutlers, brush-makers, book-binders, dairy-men, milk-farmers, blacksmiths, type-founders, musical instrument-makers, basket-makers, milliners, potters, chocolate-makers, floor-cloth-makers, bonnet-makers, hair-cloth-makers, copper-smiths, pencil-makers, bellows-makers, pocket-book-makers, card-makers, glue-makers, mustard-makers, lumber-sawyers, saw-makers, scale-beam-makers, scythe-makers, wood-saw-makers, and many others. The mechanics enumerated enjoy a measure of protection adapted to their several conditions, varying from twenty to fifty per cent. The extent and importance of some of these artizans may be estimated by a few particulars. The tanners, curriers, boot and shoemakers, and other workers in hides, skins and leather, produce an ultimate value per annum of forty millions of dollars; the manufacturers of hats and caps produce an annual value of fifteen millions; the cabinet-makers, twelve millions; the manufacturers of bonnets and hats for the female sex, lace, artificial flowers, combs, &c. seven millions; and the manufacturers of glass, five millions.

It affects the cotton planter himself, and the tobacco planter, both of whom enjoy protection. To say nothing of the cotton produced in other foreign countries, the cultivation of this article, of a very superior quality, is constantly extending in the adjacent Mexican provinces, and, but for the duty, probably a large amount would be introduced into the United States, down Red river and along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

"The total amount of capital vested in sheep, the land to sustain them, wool, wollen manufacturers and wollen fabrics, and the subsistence of the various persons directly employed in the growth and manufacture of the article of wool, is estimated at one hundred and sixty-seven millions of dollars, and the number of persons at one hundred and fifty thousand." We annex the following table from the appendix:—

"This is the summary report and estimates of the committee of the New York convention, on the manufactures of wool, published in the addendum to the last volume of the Reporter, and it is unnecessary (for us) to do more than give its results.

"It is estimated that there are 20 millions of sheep in the U. S., worth \$2 each, \$40,000,000

"That it requires six million, six hundred and sixty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six acres of land (at 3 sheep to the acre) to feed them, at \$10 an acre, 65,000,000

\$105,000,000

"That these sheep produce 50 millions pounds of wool, worth 40 cents per pound, \$20,000,000

(That the crop of 1831 was worth 25 million)

That the value of the cloth made from this wool is 40,000,000

That the fixed and floating capital vested in the wollen manufacture is 40,000,000

Capital in the growth and manufacture of wool \$145,000,000

That fifty thousand persons are employed, and one hundred and fifty thousand subsisted, by the manufactures of wool; and these consumes three millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars worth, annually, of agricultural productions. That to supply these with food, &c., requires one million, five hundred thousand acres of land, worth

\$15 the acre, amounting to \$22,500,000. Total capital involved, one hundred and sixty-seven millions, five hundred thousand dollars."

The agriculturists and the manufacturer may examine the foregoing table with the most pleasing sensations. The links which connect them in interest cannot be separated without injuring both. They may figuratively be compared to twin-brothers—the former being as nearly connected in interest as are the latter in blood. Besides, this policy, inculcates industry, produces sound morals and substantial comfort. Idleness, whether from necessity or choice, is the parent of evil. Admitting the truth of the proposition, that there is no general rule without exceptions, an idler is vicious, in degrees regulated or controlled by circumstances. An idler from necessity is deserving of commiseration; but, like the idler from choice, must be unproductive, and the longer he continues unemployed, whether from necessity or for the want of industry, the more impure will become his morals. Idleness and vice are so closely connected that they live and die together: they are almost synonymous terms. It would be difficult to find a man, who deserves the character of an idler, who is not vicious. The term idler does not apply to the infirm or insane; neither does it apply to the wealthy portion of the community, many of whom do not work at the anvil or the bench, or guide the plough. The wealthy men in the United States cannot, with justice, be termed idlers. If they are professional men they labour with their minds; if merchants or land-holders, they labour in both body and mind; if retired, and living on their incomes, they devote a portion of their time in reading and acquiring knowledge, and by diffusing it, add to the moral and physical strength and energy of the nation.

"The value of iron," said Mr. C., "considered as a raw material, and of its manufactures, is estimated at twenty-six millions of dollars per annum. Cotton goods, exclusive of the capital vested in the manufacture, and of the cost of the raw material, are believed to amount, annually, to about twenty millions of dollars.

"These estimates have been carefully made, by practical

men, of undoubted character, who have brought together and embodied their information. Anxious to avoid exaggeration, they have sometimes placed their estimates below what was believed to be the actual amount of these interests. With regard to the quantity of bar and other iron, annually produced, it is derived from the known works themselves; and I know some in the western states which they have omitted in their calculations.

"Such are some of the items of this vast system of protection, which it is now proposed to abandon. We might well pause and contemplate, if human imagination could conceive the extent of mischief and ruin from its total overthrow, before we proceed to the work of destruction. Its duration is worthy, also, of serious consideration. Not to go behind the constitution, its date is coeval with that instrument. It began on the memorable 4th July—the 4th day of July, 1789. The second act which stands recorded in the statute book, bearing the illustrious signature of George Washington, laid the corner stone of the whole.—That there might be no mistake about the whole matter, it was then solemnly proclaimed to the American people and to the world, that it was *necessary* for "the encouragement and *protection* of manufactures," that duties should be laid. It is in vain to urge the small amount of the measure of protection then extended. The great principle was then established by the fathers of the Constitution, with the father of his country at their head. And it cannot now be questioned, that, if the government had not then been new and the subject untried, a greater measure of protection would have been applied, if it had been supposed necessary. Shortly after, the master minds of Jefferson and Hamilton were brought to act upon this interesting subject. Taking views of it appertaining to the departments of foreign affairs and of the treasury, which they respectfully filled, they presented, severally, reports which yet remain monuments of their profound wisdom, and came to the same conclusion of protection to American industry. Mr. Jefferson argued that foreign restrictions, foreign prohibitions and foreign high duties ought to be met, at home, by American restrictions, American prohibitions and Ameri-

can high duties. Mr. Hamilton, surveying the whole ground and looking at the inherent nature of the subject, treated it with an ability which, if ever equalled, has not been surpassed, and earnestly recommended protection.

"The wars of the French revolution commenced about this period, and streams of gold poured into the United States through a thousand channels, opened or enlarged by the successful commerce which our neutrality enabled us to prosecute. We forgot or overlooked, in the general prosperity, the necessity of encouraging our domestic manufactures. Then came the edicts of Napoleon, and the British orders in council; and our embargo, non-intercourse, non-importation, and war followed in rapid succession.—These national measures, amounting to a total suspension, for the period of their duration, of our foreign commerce, afforded the most efficacious encouragement to American manufactures; and, accordingly, they every where sprung up. Whilst these measures of restriction and this state of war continued, the manufactures were stimulated in their enterprises by easy assurance of support, by public sentiment, and by legislative resolves. It was about that period, (1808,) that S. Carolina bore her high testimony to the wisdom of the policy, in an act of her legislature, the preamble of which is now before me, reads, 'Whereas the establishment and *encouragement* of domestic manufactures is conducive to the interest of a state, by adding new *incentives to industry*, and as being the means of disposing, to advantage, the surplus productions of the *agriculturists*. And whereas, in the present unexampled state of the world, their establishment in our country is not only *expedient*, but politic, in rendering us independent of foreign nations.' The legislature, not being competent to afford the most efficacious aid, by imposing duties on foreign articles, proceeded to incorporate a company.

"Peace under the treaty of Ghent, returned in 1815, but there did not return with it the golden days which preceded the edicts leveled at our commerce by Great Britain and France. It found all Europe tranquilly resuming all the arts and business of civil life. It found Europe no longer the consumer of our surplus, and the employer of

our navigation, but excluding, or heavily burdening, almost all the productions of our agriculture, and our rivals in manufactures, in navigation and commerce. It found our country, in short, in a situation totally different from all the past—new and untried. It became necessary to adopt our laws, and, especially our laws of imports, to the new circumstances in which we found ourselves. Accordingly, that eminent and lamented citizen, then at the head of the treasury, (Mr. Dallas,) was required by a resolution of the house of representatives, under date, February 23d, 1815, to prepare and report to the succeeding session of Congress a system of revenue conformable with the actual condition of the country. * * * * He says, in his report:—"There are few, if any, governments, which do not regard the establishment of domestic manufactures as a chief object of public policy. The United States have *always* so regarded it." * * * *

"The subject of the American system was again brought up in 1820 by the bill reported by the chairman of the committee of manufactures, now a member of the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the principle was successfully maintained by the representatives of the people; but the bill which they passed was defeated in the Senate. It was revived in 1824, the whole ground carefully and deliberately explored, and the bill, then introduced, receiving all the sanctions of the Constitution, became the law of the land. An amendment of the system was proposed in 1828, to the history of which, I refer with no agreeable recollections. The bill of that year, in some of its provisions, was framed upon principles directly adverse to the declared wishes of the friends of protection. * * * * The bill was passed, notwithstanding it having been thought better to take the bad along with the good it contained, than reject it altogether. Subsequent legislation has corrected the error then perpetrated, but still that measure is vehemently denounced by gentlemen who contributed to make it what it was.

"Thus, sir, has the great system of protection been gradually built, stone upon stone, and step by step, from the 4th day of July 1789, down to the present period. In

every stage of its progress it has received the deliberate sanction of Congress. A vast majority of the people of the United States have approved, and continues to approve it. Every chief magistrate of the U. States, from Washington to the present, in some form or other, has given to it the authority of his name; and, however the opinions of the existing president are interpreted south of Mason's and Dixon's line, on the north they are, at least, understood to favour the establishment of a *judicious* tariff."

The reader will bear in mind that president Jackson, in his second annual message of December 1830, was an advocate of a protective tariff; and there cannot be found in any of his subsequent messages, any evidence of his having changed his sentiments, until we arrive at his eighth and last annual communication: his reasons having been given in preceeding pages need not be repeated.

"Nor has the system, (said Mr. Clay,) which has been the parent source of so much benefit to other parts of the Union, proved injurious to the cotton growing country. I cannot speak of South Carolina itself, where I have never been, with so much certainty; but of other portions of the Union in which cotton is grown, especially those bordering on the Mississippi, I can confidently speak. If cotton planting is less profitable than it was, that is the result of increased productions; but I believe it to be still the most profitable investment of capital of any branch of business in the United States. And if a committee were raised to send for persons and papers, I take upon myself to say, that such would be the result of the inquiry. In Kentucky I know many individuals who have their cotton plantations below, and retain their residence in that state, where they remain during the sickly season; and they are all, I believe, without exception, doing well. Others tempted by their success, are consequently engaged in the business, whilst scarcely any comes from the cotton region to engage in western agriculture. A friend now in my eye, a member of this body, upon a capital of less than seventy thousand dollars, invested in a plantation and slaves, made, the year before last, sixteen thousand dollars. A member of the other house, I understand, who, without removing himself,

sent some of his slaves to Mississippi, made, last year, about twenty per cent. Two friends of mine, in the latter state, whose annual income is from thirty to sixty thousand dollars, being anxious to curtail their business, have offered to sell their estates, which they are willing to show, by regular vouchers of receipt and disbursement, yield eighteen per cent. per annum. One of my most opulent acquaintances, in a county adjoining to that in which I reside, having married in Georgia, has derived a large portion of his wealth from a cotton estate there situated."

During the year 1832 the people of South Carolina were almost in a state of rebellion. A state convention assembled and declared the tariff acts of May, 1828, and July, 1832 "unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law." It was further "ordained, that in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of said state, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of said ordinance, or the acts of the legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for contempt of court." See president Jackson's proclamation of December 11th, 1832.

The convention passed various other ordinances of a very inflammatory character. Declaring a determination to withdraw from the union if the tariff laws were not repealed or modified. It is proper to state that South Carolina is a cotton growing state, and after the raw article passes through a gin, it is packed in bales and shipped to Europe or to the manufactures of the eastern section of our Union. The spinning wheel and loom are but little used in South Carolina, and it is probable that many of the inhabitants never saw either. Their mechanical genius goes but little beyond the cotton gin, worked by their mules and tended by their negroes. Consequently they have to clothe themselves and negroes with foreign fabrics, skins, "fig-leaves," or adopt the only alternative. They, therefore, argue that

a duty on imported cotton fabrics, lowers the price of their exported raw cotton in the European markets; and assuming the proposition as a fact, they next modestly contend that the tariff should be so adjusted as to PROTECT the growers of *cotton only*; no other interest is to be taken into consideration. The writer understands that the clothing of a grown negro in South Carolina does not cost more, annually, than shoes for a mule. They do not take into consideration that the effect of the tariff on cotton fabrics, gave rise to numerous and extensive cotton factories, in our own country, affording a home market, a better market than could be obtained if we had *no tariff and no cotton factories*. The tariff and the factories combine and unite a variety of interests which *reduce* the price of cotton fabrics. The price of a yard of cotton fabrics, upon abstract considerations, is of but little importance to the manufacturers: he looks to the *quantity* he sells for his profits. Suppose the tariff acts were all repealed, as is advocated by many of its opponents, and the government supported by direct taxation? The effect would be that the vast quantity of importations would deprive our manufacturers and mechanics of opportunities to sell articles and fabrics to the amount of one dollar, where they now sell to the amount of five, ten, or more; the consequence would be, that they would be forced to abandon their avocations, and we should be at the mercy of foreigners, not on account of low prices, but from the quantity imported supplying the markets; and the prices would, after the destruction of our factories and work shops, be *raised upon us*.

Now, if South Carolina should abandon the growing of cotton and cultivate sugar—or if it were a sugar growing state—the mechanical genius which brought into operation the cotton gin, would put in motion the rollers for grinding the sugar cane; they would not send the cane to Europe to be ground and manufactured, as they now do their raw cotton; and they, with a view of protection, would then require a *high tariff* upon imported sugar. The object of that state is *exclusive protection*. If they would add to the cotton gin the necessary machinery for manufacturing it into fabrics, they would become advocates for the protective system.

Looking at one side of the question, they consider that a high tariff *protects* the grower of sugar, and that a low tariff *protects* the cultivator of cotton. The protective system may not be as beneficial to the cultivator of cotton as to the grower of sugar; but that is debatable, and a decision either way could not afford an argument against the policy of fostering home industry. It is not contended that a tariff could be so adjusted as to produce equal benefits and blessings throughout our country; but it is the duty of the government to give all the protection it can to all classes of society. The cultivation of cotton in the Indies and other southern countries is producing a change in the views of our politicians in the cotton growing states and may bring them to their senses. The soil of the cotton sections of our country is represented, generally, to be a bed of sand, rendered productive by the decomposition of vegetable matter. It will then soon be exhausted by the successive crops of cotton and rendered unproductive, and can only be resuscitated either by the introduction of grass and raising of stock, or by abandoning it and suffering it to clothe and shade itself by reproducing forest trees, which would require as many years as had rolled away in impoverishing it by the cultivation of cotton.

The proclamation of president Jackson, of December 11, 1832, is firm, energetic and dignified in language, and is generally acknowledged to be an able state paper and sound in doctrine. No proclamation, perhaps, was ever more universally approved.

* * * * *

"When gentlemen have succeeded in their design of an immediate or gradual destruction of the American system, what is their substitute? Free trade! Free trade! The call for free trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child, in its nurse's arms, for the moon or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed; it never will exist. Trade implies, at least, two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal, and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports, of any foreign nation, shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We

may break down all barriers to free trade on our part, but the work will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restrictions, prohibitions, and exclusions on the other. The bolts, and the bars, and the chains of all other nations will remain undisturbed. It is indeed, possible that our industry and commerce would accommodate themselves to this unequal and unjust state of things; for such is the flexibility of our nature that it bends itself to all circumstances. The wretched prisoner, incarcerated in a jail, after a long time, becomes reconciled to his solitude, and regularly notches down the passing days of his confinement.

"Gentlemen deceive themselves. It is not free trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect, the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and, if their policy prevail, it will lead, substantially, to the re-colonization of these states, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain. And whom do we find some of the principal supporters, out of Congress, of this foreign system? Mr. President, there are some foreigners who always remain exotics, and never become naturalized in our country: whilst, happily, there are many others who readily attach themselves to our principles and our institutions. The honest, patient, and industrious German, readily unites with our people, establishes himself upon some of our fat land, fills his capacious barn, and enjoys, in tranquility, the abundant fruits which his diligence gathers around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country or to its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophic Frenchman, accomodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself, without difficulty in our society. But of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was, originally, part and parcel of this country, and that, by some extraordinary convulsion of nature, it was torn from America, and, drifting across the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness; the same generous hospitality; the same careless and

uncalculating indifference about human life, characterises the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has sometimes been called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America to the shores of Europe, instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland, would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home.

"But, sir, the gentleman to whom I am about to allude, although long a resident of this country, has no feeling, no attachment, no sympathy, no principle, in common with our people. Near fifty years ago, Pennsylvania took him to her bosom, and warmed, and cherished, and honoured him; and how does he manifest his gratitude? By aiming a vital blow at a system endeared to her prosperity. He has filled, at home and abroad, some of the highest offices under this government, during thirty years, and he is still at heart an alien. The authority of his name has been invoked, and the labours of his pen, in form of a memorial to Congress, have been engaged, to overthrow the American system and substitute the foreign. Go home to your native Europe, and there inculcate, upon her sovereigns, your Utopian doctrines of free trade, and when you have prevailed upon them to unseal their ports, and freely admit the produce of Pennsylvania, and other states, come back and we shall be prepared to become converts, and adopt your faith."

"A Mr. Sarchet, also, makes no inconsiderable figure in the common attack upon our system. I do not know the man, but I understand he is an unnaturalized emigrant from the island of Guernsey, situated in the channel which divides France and England. The principal business of the inhabitants, is that of driving a contraband trade with opposite shores; and Mr. Sarchet, educated in that school, is, I have been told, chiefly engaged in employing his wits to elude the operation of our revenue laws, by introducing articles at less rates of duty than they are justly chargeable with, which he effects by varying the denominations, or slightly changing their forms. This man, at a former session of the senate, caused to be presented a memorial

signed by some 150 pretended workers in iron. Of these a gentleman made a careful inquiry and examination, and ascertained that there were only about ten of the denomination represented; the rest were tavern-keepers, porters, merchant's clerks, hackney coachmen, &c. I have the most respectable authority, in black and white, for this statement."

[Here, General Hayne asked "Who? and was he a manufacturer?"] Mr. Clay replied: "Col. Murray, of New York; a gentleman of the highest standing for honor, probity and veracity; he did not know whether he was a manufacturer or not, but the gentleman might take him as one.* Whether Mr. Sarchet got up the late petition presented to the Senate, from the journeymen tailors of Philadelphia, or not, I do not know. But I should not be surprised if it were a movement of his, and if we should find that he has *cabbaged* from other classes of society to swell out the number of signatures.

"To the facts *manufactured* by Mr. Sarchet, and the theories of Mr. Gallitin, there was yet wanting one circumstance to recommend them to favourable consideration, and that was authority of some high foreign name. There was no difficulty in obtaining one from a British repository. The honorable gentleman has cited a speech of my lord Goodrich, addressed to the British parliament, in favour of the free trade, and full of regret that old England *could not possibly* conform her practice of vigorous restriction and exclusion to her liberal *doctrines* of unfettered commerce, so earnestly recommended to foreign powers. "Sir," said Mr. C. "I know my lord Goodrich very well, although my acquaintance with him was prior to his being summoned to the British house of peers. We both signed the convention between the U. States and Great Britain in 1815." * * * * * If he were to live to the age of Methuselah, he could not make a speech of such ability and eloquence as that which the gentleman from S. Carolina recently delivered to the Senate; and there would

*Mr. Clay, subsequently understood that Col. Murray was a merchant.

be more fitness in my lord Goodrich making quotations from the speech of the honorable gentleman, than his quoting, as authority, the theoretic doctrines of my lord Goodrich. We are too much in the habit of looking abroad, not merely for manufactured articles, but for the sanction of high names, to support favorite theories. * *

"I dislike the resort to authority, and especially *foreign* and *interested* authority, for the support of principles of public policy. I would greatly prefer to meet gentlemen upon the broad ground of fact, of experience, and of reason, but since they will appeal to British names and authority, I feel myself compelled to imitate their bad example. Allow me to quote from the speech of a member of the British parliament, bearing the same family name of my lord Goodrich, but whether or not a relation of his, I do not know. The member alluded to was arguing against the violation of the treaty of Methuen—that treaty not less fatal to the interests of Portugal than would be the system of gentlemen to the best interests of America—and he went on to say:—

"*It was idle for us to endeavor to persuade other nations to join with us in adopting the principles of what was called "free trade."* Other nations knew as well as the noble lord opposite, and those who acted with him, what we meant by "*free trade*" was nothing more nor less than by the means of the great advantages we enjoyed, to get a monopoly of all their markets for our manufactures, and to prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations. When the system of reciprocity and free trade had been proposed to a French ambassador, his remark was, that the plan was excellent in theory, but to make it fair in practice, it would be necessary to defer the attempt half a century, until France should be on the same footing with Great Britain; in marine, in manufactures, in capital, and the many other peculiar advantages which it now enjoyed. The policy that France acted on was that of encouraging its own *native* manufacturers, and it was a wise policy; because, if it were to freely admit our manufactures, it would speedily be reduced to the rank of an *agricultural nation*; and therefore a poor nation, as all must

be that depend *exclusively* upon agriculture. But since the peace, France, Germany, America, and all the nations of the world, had proceeded upon the principle of encouraging and protecting native manufactures.'

"But I have said that the principle nominally called "free trade," so earnestly and eloquently recommended to our adoption, is a mere revival of the British colonial system forced upon us by great Britain during the existence of our colonial vassalage. The whole system is fully explained and illustrated in a work published as far back as the year 1750, entitled the trade and navigation of Great Britain considered by Joshua Gee, with extracts from which I have been furnished by the dilligent researches of a friend. It will be seen from these, that the South Carolina policy now, is identical with the long cherished policy of Great Britain, which remains the same as it was when the thirteen colonies were part of the British empire. In that work the author contends—

' "That manufactures, in the American colonies, should be discouraged or prohibited!

' "Great Britain, with its dependencies, is doubtless as well able to subsist within itself as any nation in Europe; we have an enterprising people, fit for all the acts of peace and war: we have provisions in abundance, and those of the best sort, and are able to raise sufficient for double the number of inhabitants: we have the very best materials for clothing, and want nothing either for use or even for luxury but what we have at home or might have from our colonies: So that we might make such an intercourse of trade among ourselves; or between us and them, as would maintain a vast navigation. But we ought always to keep a *watchful eye over our colonies, to restrain them from setting up any of the manufactures which are carried on in Britain, and any such attempts should be crushed in the beginning; for, if they are suffered to grow up to maturity, it will be difficult to suppress them.*" Pages, 177, '8 and '9.

No unprejudiced man can read the foregoing without perceiving the policy of Great Britain towards the colonies, and which that haughty nation still attempts to enforce

against this nation, is precisely the same, in effect, as is advocated by the opponents of protection. Without questioning the motives of any man, the interests of Great Britain, and other manufacturing European countries, are more successfully supported on the floor of Congress, by the opponents of American industry, than they possibly could be, if they were permitted to send an equal number of representatives to Congress. What would the American people say if Great Britain and other foreign nations were permitted to send representatives to Congress to teach us to support their interests and disregard our own? If free trade is so desirable, why does not Great Britain and other foreign nations, who recommended it to us, prove their sincerity by opening their ports to our surplus produce, free of duty. As well might it be expected that infants could grow to maturity, without the aid of parents or nurses, as for the industry of our country to be justly rewarded without the protection from the arm of government. If a man from Virginia, or any other state, should bring into Maryland, baskets, brooms, rakes, wooden forks and other articles, of his own manufacture, and "sell or offer to sell" without license, he would, on conviction before a magistrate have, to pay a fine of not more than fifty nor less than ten dollars with cost. This law, certainly, was not passed under the impression, that our own basket-makers, broom-makers, &c. could not afford to make and sell them as cheap as the mechanics of Virginia and other states; but, because, our own basket-makers, broom-makers, &c., can supply us. Virginians and Pennsylvanians have paid fines for violating this law. See laws of Md. for 1840 and '41, chap. 154. Whilst the writer was acting as a justice of the peace under Gov. Grason, an officer of the law, brought before him a Pennsylvanian charged with having "offered" to sell wood-forks, such as are used in handling hay and straw; but for want of evidence he was acquitted. On other occasions, and on proof he gave judgment against the offenders, and the fines were collected: and yet many are opposed to protection against foreign competition. Mr. Gee further saith—

"I should, therefore, think it worthy the care of the gov-

ernment to endeavour, by all possible means, to encourage them in raising silk, hemp, flax, iron, (only pig to be hammered in England,) potash, &c, by giving them competent bounties in the beginning, and sending over judicious and skilful persons, at the public charge, to assist and instruct them in the most proper methods of management, which, in my apprehension, would lay a foundation for establishing the most profitable trade of any we have. And considering the commanding situation of our colonies along the sea-coast, the great convenience of navigable rivers in all of them, the cheapness of land, and the easiness of raising provisions, great numbers of people would transport themselves thither to settle upon such improvements.— Now, as people have been filled with fears that the colonies, if encouraged to raise rough materials, would set up for themselves, a *little regulation* would remove all those jealousies out of the way. They have never thrown or wove any silk, as yet, that we have heard of. Therefore, if a law was made to prohibit every throwster's mill, or doubling or horsling silk with any machine, whatever, they would thus *send it to us raw*. And, as they will have the providing of rough materials to themselves, so shall we have the manufacturing of them. If encouragement be given for raising hemp, flax, &c., doubtless they will soon begin to manufacture, if not *prevented*. Therefore, to stop the progress of any such manufactures, it is proposed that no weaver there shall have *liberty* to set up any looms without first registering at an office, kept for the purpose, and the name and place of abode of any journeyman that shall work with him. But if any particular inhabitant" (mark the words, *particular inhabitant*,) "shall be inclined to have any linen or woollen made of their own spinning, they should not be abridged of the same liberty that they now make use of, viz: to carry it to a weaver, (who shall be *licensed* by the governor) and have it wrought up for the use of the family, but not to be sold to any person in a private manner, nor exposed to any market or fair, upon pain of forfeiture."

What think you of the forgoing reader? Is it a blessing or a curse, to the great body of the people, that nearly half

of our members of Congress are advocating a policy which, if carried out, would have the effect desired by European governments, of "CRUSHING" our manufactures, increasing our agricultural productions and *lowering* the price? The crowned heads of Europe might well be proud of the advocates of *their* policy in the American Congress—paid by the American people and advocating a policy consistent with the interest of the manufactures of foreign countries. Suppose, for the sake of argument, (which is positively denied,) that the protective system has an unfavorable bearing upon the cotton planters; ought all other interests be sacrificed, all manufactures beyond those produced by the cotton gin to be *crushed*? It ought not to be satisfactory to the body of the people that those who oppose the protective system are influenced by correct motives. As we cannot always know the motives of men, we should never impeach them unnecessarily. Taking, as granted, that all our representatives are governed by correct motives, we should, without prejudice or regard to party names, judge of their measures. It cannot be possible that the two great parties call into question the motives of each other. That there are illiberal individuals in all political parties, will not be denied; but we are discussing measures, not impeaching or questioning motives.—"And," says Mr. Gee, "inasmuch as they have been supplied with all their manufactures from hence, except what are used in building ships and other country work, one-half of our exports being supposed to be in NAILS—a manufacture which they allow has never hitherto been carried on among them—it is proposed they shall, *for time to come*, never erect the manufacture of any under the size of a two shilling nail, horse nails excepted; that all slitting mills and engines, for drawing wire or weaving stockings, *be put down*; and, that every smith, who keeps a common forge or shop, shall register his name and place of abode, and the name of every *servant* which he shall employ, which license shall be renewed once every year, and *pay* for the *liberty* of working at such trade. That all negroes shall be prohibited from weaving either linen or woollen, or spinning or combing of wool, or working at any manu-

facture of iron, further than making it into pig or bar iron. That they also be prohibited from manufacturing hats, stockings, or *leather* of any kind. This limitation will not abridge the planters of any privilege they now enjoy. On the contrary, it will turn their industry to promoting and raising those rough materials.

"It is hoped that this method would allay the *heat* that some people have shown for destroying the iron-works on the plantations and pulling down all their forges—taking away, in a violent manner, their estates and properties—preventing the husbandmen from getting their ploughshares, carts, and other utensils mended; destroying the manufacture of ship building, by depriving them of the liberty of making bolts, spikes, and other things proper for carrying on that work, by which article returns are made for purchasing our woollen manufactures. Pages 87, 88, 89.

"If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations and our own, it will appear that not *one-fourth* part of their product redounds to their *own profit*; for, out of all that comes here, they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families; all of which is of the merchandise and manufacture of this kingdom.

"All these advantages we receive from the plantations, besides the mortgages on the planters' estates, and the high interests they pay us, which are very considerable; and therefore very good care should be taken, in regulating all affairs of the colonists, that the planters be not put under *too many difficulties*, but encouraged to go on cheerfully.

"New England and the northern colonies, have not commodities and products enough to send us in return for purchasing their necessary clothing, but are under very great difficulties; and, therefore, any ordinary sort sell with them. And when they have grown out of *fashion* with us they are new fashioned *enough* for them."

From the foregoing we perceive that the British designed their old coats, shoes, and other worn and unfashionable clothing for the *Yankees*, whom they considered too poor to buy *new and fashionable* clothing. What deliberate, cold and heartless impudence! Who ever saw a Yankee

clothed in *rags*, or too poor to purchase new, substantial, and fashionable clothing?

"Sir," said Mr. Clay "I cannot go on with this disgusting detail. Their refuse goods, their old shop-keepers, their cast off clothes, good enough for us! Was there ever a scheme more artfully devised by which the energies and facilities of one people should be kept down and rendered subservient to the pride, and the pomp, and the power of another? The system, then proposed, differs only from that which is now recommended, in one particular; that was intended to be enforced by power, this would not be less effectually executed by the force of circumstances. A gentleman in Boston, (Mr. Lee,) the agent of the Free Trade Convention, from whose exhaustless mint there is a constant issue of reports, seems to envy the blessed condition of dependent Canada, when compared to the oppressed state of this Union; it is a fair inference from the view which he presents, that he would have us hasten back to the golden days of that colonial bondage, which is so well depicted in the work from which I have been quoting. Mr. Lee exhibits two tabular statements, in one of which, he presents the high duties which he represents to be paid in the ports of the United States, and, in the other, those which are paid in Canada, generally about two per cent. *ad valorem*. But did it not occur to him that the duties levied in Canada are laid chiefly upon British manufactures, or on articles, passing from one part to another, of a common empire? and to present a parallel case, in the United States, he ought to have shown that importations made into one state from another, which are now free, are subject to the same or higher duties than are paid in Canada."

—In the foregoing, the rational principle is laid down that it matters not as to the *effect*, whether a man is deprived of his money or goods, by the application of force, or whether he is cheated and swindled by moral means. Under the colonial government Britain held in reserve, force which was to be applied in the event of their civil policy failing. We are now an independent nation, and it will not do for Britain to use, or threaten, force, and she resorts to moral means to keep us in just such a state of depend-

ence as were the colonies. It is reasonable to conclude, that Britain has among us hired agents, who labour for their royal employers, in attempting to write down our mechanics and manufactured articles and clothe us with their fabrics—particularly such as are “unfashionable.”

“I will now, Mr. President,” continued the Kentucky statesman, “proceed to a more particular consideration of the arguments urged against the protective system, and inquire into its practical operation, especially on the cotton growing country. And, as I wish to state and meet the argument fairly, I invite the correction of it, if necessary. It is alleged that the system operates prejudicially to the cotton planter, by diminishing the foreign demand for his staple; that we cannot sell to Great Britain, unless we buy from her; that the import duty is equivalent to an export duty, and falls upon the cotton grower; that South Carolina pays a disproportionate quota of the public revenue; that an abandonment of the protective policy would lead to an augmentation of our exports of an amount not less than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars; and, finally, that the south cannot partake of the advantages of manufacturing if there be any. Let us examine these various propositions, in detail. First, that the foreign demand for cotton is diminished, and that we cannot sell to Great Britain unless we buy from her. The demand of both our great foreign customers is constantly and annually increasing. It is time that the ratio of increase may not be equal to that of production; but this is owing to the fact that the power of producing the raw material is much greater, and is therefore constantly in advance of the power of consumption. A single fact will illustrate. The actual produce of labourers engaged in the cultivation of cotton may be estimated at five bales, or fifteen hundred pounds to the hand. Suppose the average consumption of each individual who uses cotton clothing to be five pounds, one hand can produce enough of the raw material to clothe three hundred.”

It is obvious that so long as England or any other foreign nation is dependent on us, in whole or in part, for raw cotton for their manufactories, that the demand will be in-

creased in proportion to the quantity consumed by our own manufacturers; hence, the grower has the advantage of a home and foreign market; the latter increased. The grower of grain and producer of other provisions is benefitted by a home market in proportion to the number of persons engaged in, and supported by, manufactures. The increased price of grain and other food is beneficial alike to agriculturalists, mechanics and labourers; particularly to the two latter, who obtain employment and sale for their manufactured articles. If two merchants sell at the same profit, but one sells double the amount sold by the other, he makes double the money on the amount sold; and whilst the profits of one may not be equal to his necessary expenditures, the other may be daily advancing in wealth and comfort. Apply this to the agriculturalists and mechanics. The mechanic and labourer cannot be benefitted by a low price of provisions whilst they are thrown out of employment. Farmers and all classes! view this subject upon the principle of interest, patriotism and regard for your wives and children, without reference to party politics.

We continue the quotation:

"The argument (against protection) contains two errors; one of fact, the other of principle. It assumes that we do not in fact purchase of Great Britain. What is the true state of the case? There are certain, but very few articles which it is thought sound policy requires that we should manufacture at home; and on these the tariff operates. But with respect to all the rest, and much the larger number of articles of taste, fashion, or utility, they are subject to no other than revenue duties and are freely introduced. I have before me from the Treasury a statement of our imports from England, Scotland and Ireland, including ten years preceding the last and three-quarters of the last year, from which it will appear that, although there are some fluctuations in the amount of the different years, the largest amount imported in any one year has been since the tariff of 1824, and that the last year's importation, when the returns of the fourth quarter shall be received, will probably be the greatest in the whole term of eleven years."

The foregoing paragraph ought to be committed to mem-

ory; at least the principles and facts which it contains, all of which should be impartially considered. A tariff to be protective, must be *discriminating*, and applied to such articles exclusively as can, with convenience, be produced or manufactured to any required extent in our country, thereby producing a laudable competition among our own citizens, insuring employment to the industrious and promoting the comfort, happiness and onward prosperity of all. It cannot be expected that the protective system can extend equal benefits to all. Localities cannot be changed by legislation; we can reach certain degrees of latitude or longitude, but we cannot change them. But a tariff may be more or less protective to all, in its general bearing, without being unjust to any. Mr. Clay continues:

"Now, if it be admitted that there is a less amount of the protected articles imported from Great Britain, she may be, and probably is, compensated for the deficiency, by the increased consumption in America of the articles of her industry not falling within the scope of the policy of our protection. The establishment of manufactures among us excites the creation of wealth, and this gives new powers of consumption, which are gratified by the purchase of foreign objects. A poor nation can never be a great consuming nation. Its poverty will limit its consumption to a bare subsistence.

"The erroneous principle which the argument includes, is, that it devolves on us the duty of taking care that Great Britain shall be enabled to purchase from us without exacting from Great Britain the corresponding duty. If it be true on one side, that nations are bound to shape their policy in reference to the ability of foreign powers, it must be true on both sides of the Atlantic. And this reciprocal obligation ought to be emphatically regarded towards the nation supplying the raw material, by the manufacturing nation, because the industry of the latter gives four or five values to what has been produced by the industry of the former.

"But, does Great Britain practice towards us upon the principles which we are now required to observe in regard to her? The exports to the United Kingdom, as appears

from the same Treasury statement just adverted to, during the eleven years, from 1821 to 1831, and exclusive of the fourth quarter of the last year, fall short of the amount of imports by upwards of forty-six millions of dollars, and the total amount, when the returns of that quarter are received, will exceed fifty millions of dollars! It is surprising how we have been able to sustain, for so long a time, a trade so very unequal. We must have been absolutely ruined by it, if the unfavourable balance had not been neutralized by more profitable commerce with other parts of the world. Of all nations, Great Britain has the least cause to complain of the trade between the two countries. Our imports from that single power are nearly one-third of the entire amount of our importations from all foreign nations together. Great Britain constantly acts on the maxim of buying only what she wants and cannot produce, and selling to foreign nations to the utmost amount she can. In conformity with this maxim she excludes articles of prime necessity produced by us—equally if not more necessary than any of her industry which we tax, although the admission of those articles would increase our ability to purchase from her, according to the arguments of gentlemen.”

A family represents a nation in miniature; as much so as does a map represent upon a small scale the physical geography of a country. Now, if the expenditures of a family are greater than the income, it must be sinking in wealth and comfort. If the expenditures of a man are annually one hundred dollars more than his income, at the end of ten years he will find himself at least two thousand dollars in debt, and if he continues his course, at the end of twenty years he will be a bankrupt, unless he has a very large estate; because he could only support his credit by borrowing money; and he who borrows money on a sinking capital pays more than legal interest; and if he cannot pay one debt by contracting another on terms unfavourable to himself, he must fall into the hands of the sheriff.

“If,” said Mr. Clay, “we purchased still less from Great Britain than we do, and our conditions were reversed, so that the value of her imports from this country exceeded that of her exports to it, she would only then be compell-

ed to do what we have so long done, and what South Carolina does in her trade with Kentucky—make up the unfavourable balance by trade with other places and countries. How does she now dispose of the one hundred and sixty millions dollars' worth of cotton fabrics, which she annually sells? Of that amount the United States do not purchase five per cent. What becomes of the other ninety-five per cent.? Is it not sold to other powers, and would not their markets remain if ours were totally shut? Would she not continue, as she now finds it her interest, to purchase the raw material from us, to supply those markets? Would she be guilty of the folly of depriving herself of markets to the amount of upwards of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, because we refused her a market for some eight or ten millions?

“But if there were a diminution of the British demand for cotton equal to the loss of a market for the few British fabrics which are within the scope of our protective policy, the question would still remain, whether the cotton planter is not amply indemnified by the creation of additional demand elsewhere. With respect to the cotton grower, it is the *totality* of the demand, and not its *distribution*, which affects his interests. If any system of policy will augment the aggregate of demand, that system is favourable to his interests, although its tendency may be to vary the theatre of the demand. It could not, for example, be injurious to him, if instead of Great Britain continuing to receive the entire quantity of cotton which she now does, two or three hundred thousand bales of it were taken to the other side of the channel and increased to the extent that the French demand. It would be better for him; because it is always better to have several markets than one. Now, if, instead of a transfer to the opposite side of the channel, those two or three hundred thousand bales are transported to the northern states, can that be injurious to the cotton grower? Is it not better for him? Is it not better to have a market at home, unaffected by war or other foreign causes, for that amount of his staple?”

“If the establishment of American manufactures, therefore, had the sole effect of creating a new, and an American, de-

mand for cotton, *exactly* to the same extent in which it lessened the British demand, there would be no just cause of complaint against the tariff. The gain in one place would precisely equal the loss in the other. But the true state of the case is much more favorable to the cotton grower.—It is calculated that the cotton manufactories of the United States absorb at least two hundred thousand bales of cotton annually. I believe it to be more. The two ports of Boston and Providence, alone, received, during last year, near one hundred and ten thousand bales. The amount is annually increasing. The raw material of that two hundred thousand bales is worth six millions of dollars, and there is an additional value conferred by the manufacturer of eighteen millions; it being generally calculated that, in such cotton fabrics as we are in the habit of making, the manufacture constitutes three-fourths of the value of the article. If, therefore, these twenty-four millions of dollars worth of cotton fabrics were not made in the United States, but were made in Great Britain, in order to attain them, we would have to add to the already enormous disproportion between the amount of our imports and exports, in the trade with Great Britain, the further sum of twenty-four millions, or, deducting the price of the raw material, eighteen millions. And will gentlemen tell me how it would be possible for this country to sustain such a ruinous trade. * * *

The cotton grower sells the raw material to the manufacturer; he buys the iron, the bread, the meal, the coal and the countless number of objects of consumption, from his fellow-citizens, and they, in turn, purchase his fabrics. * *

The main argument of gentlemen is founded upon the idea of mutual ability resulting from mutual exchanges. They would furnish an ability by purchasing from them, and I, to our *own people, by exchanges at home.*”

It has been asserted by some of the opponents of the protective system, that if a tariff duty cheapened the price of some articles of importation, from the very same principle, it would reduce the price of *all* imported articles, and, consequently, that a tariff might be put upon tea and coffee, so high as to reduce the price of the former to a shilling, and the latter to one cent per pound, whilst the revenue would be

increased in the same proportion to the decrease in the prices of the articles. They then exulted in imaginary triumphs, at what they considered an unanswerable argument. Although men, whose minds are warped by prejudice or party, may not be entitled to as much commiseration as those who are born blind, yet they ought to be treated with courtesy. Arguments and facts would not be more unavailing with a dead man than with a living man, so long as the latter unflinchingly rejected both—but where there is life there is hope. Ridicule, affirmatives, and negatives do not always pass current for arguments, and we shall address ourselves to the sense, not to the prejudices, of the reader. The advocates of protection never did assert that a high or a low tariff would create a competition among growers of those articles in the United States, and, thereby, increase the quantity and lower the price; because, those articles never have been cultivated within its limits, and, it is believed, that no portion of our soil and climate is genial to the growth of either.—Consequently, the opponents of the protective system make themselves merry by charging their opponents with sentiments which they do not entertain, never advanced, but repudiate. If a tariff is laid on tea and coffee, it is only justifiable as revenue, and not called for on the principle of protection. But the advocates of protection do assert that the tendency of the system is to reduce the prices of cotton and woollen fabrics, boots, shoes, hats, iron, and various other articles, and, at the same time, *increase* the *profits*, and add to the solid comfort of labourers and manufacturers, by securing to them a market for their manufactured articles.—And they not only offer arguments, but facts, to support them. But the enemies of protection when driven from one ground, assume another as untenable as the one which they abandoned—to wit: that if it lowers the price of the articles protected, it lowers the wages of the mechanics and labouring men; and that, too, in the very face of the facts, that by giving our own mechanics the advantage of the home market, they obtain steady employment and ready sale for their manufactured articles; and we repeat that it is not the profit a mechanic makes upon the sale of a single article, upon which he relies for a fortune, or even comfort, but on the

quantity he annually sells and constant employment.

Neither the manufacturer, the mechanic, or the political advocates of the system ask any other protection than that, which by *decreasing the quantity of certain imported articles* secures to our mechanics a home market, and creates a wholesome competition. If such protection did not reduce the price of articles, no injustice could be done to any class; and, if it cheapened, as we have and will further prove, the reduction flows from the industry of our own citizens in the abundant quantity furnished by them, and adds to their comfort. To speak and to write ironically, with the intention of being so understood, has been resorted to by some of the purest moral characters, and has sometimes proven to be the most powerful weapon in putting down error. Perhaps the best mode of polemical discussion with an uncompromising opponent of the protective system, would be to unite with him in asserting that it is of no consequence to us whether our exports to foreign nations are admitted *free*, or pay a tariff equal to *double their value*—that the duty is paid by the consumers, and that president Jackson and other presidents were wrong in complaining of the "*burthens*" imposed upon our exports by foreign nations. And then, take the opposite on this side of the ocean, and assert that our ports ought to be thrown open to all nations and all importations admitted free of duty, and government supported by a *direct tax*.—The foregoing embodies, truly, the substance of the arguments of those who contend for what they call *free trade*, and boldly declare in favour of abolishing the tariff and resorting to direct taxation. Perhaps the best mode to refute their arguments would be to ironically, and in good temper, admit them.

There are thousands of rational men who deny the existence of air as a material substance, notwithstanding they frequently open their doors and windows in warm weather for its admission, and close them for its exclusion in winter. They hear the wind blow, and plainly see its effects on land and water, and yet deny the existence of air. Every one of those rational men could be satisfactorily convinced of his error;—it could be as satisfactorily proven to him as is his own existence, by the use of proper apparatus, that air is

matter or substance, and that it can be weighed as can be a bale of cotton or a bag of coffee, or any thing else. How, then, does it happen that men can be made fully sensible of the existence of air, and of particles so minute as *light*, and yet that the most intelligent men in the nation differ so widely as to the effect of a tariff? One class asserting that its effects on certain specified articles of importation might increase the price, and that a tariff should be *discriminating*; whilst many others, equally intelligent and honest, contend that a tariff acts alike on all importations and increases the price to the consumer to the amount of the duty laid, to which the merchant, if it pass through his hands, adds a per centage. Is it not wonderful that men of equal intelligence upon this subject should differ so widely as to the general *principle* involved? The difference between them is as great as that which exists between the negative and affirmative; one party affirming and the other denying, and that on a subject of such importance that each charges the other with advocating a policy which, if carried out, would produce wide-spread ruin and beggar the mass of the people. Surely we have arrived to a very important crisis if either policy is ruinous to us. Why do not our statesmen settle the question? The answer is easy. It involves a political *party question*. But the proposition relative to air and particles of light is settled by physical science, which cannot be made a political party question, and the unfettered mind irresistibly and willingly grasps the truth.

If the whigs and democrats charged each other with having destroyed the *equilibrium* which pervaded throughout the planetary system forty years ago; with having decreased or increased the body of atmosphere which surrounded the globe, and with having thrown it out of its orbit, they would throw aside Jefferson and Madison, the illustrious apostles of democracy, and cite Newton and Herschel to settle the question. If politicians would examine political measures from the same principle that students labour to acquire astronomical science—to arrive at truth—the question, so far as the general principle is concerned, would soon be settled. It is proper to remark, that whilst one party, with a few individual exceptions, is united upon and in support

of the protective system, the other party is considerably divided. The democracy of numbers is certainly favourable to protecting American industry; and judging from the intelligence of the people and the increasing discussions of the subject, the question will soon be settled as to the general principle. Time and circumstances will, doubtless, call for modifications to any tariff which could be framed; but the signs of the times indicate that the general principle will soon be adjusted. All human measures and institutions must be created and managed by human minds and hands, and cannot be more perfect than human minds can make them; time and circumstances will require modifications, but the general principle of protection is founded upon reason and justice.

Mr. Clay next proceeded to examine the second proposition: "That the import duty is equivalent to the export duty, and falls on the producer of cotton."

[Here Gen. Hayne explained, and said that he never contended that an import duty was equivalent to an export duty, under all circumstances; he had explained in his speech his ideas of the precise operation of the existing system. Mr. Clay replied that he had seen the argument so stated in some of the ingenious essays from the South Carolina press, and would therefore answer it.]

"The framers of our Constitution, by granting to Congress the power to lay import, and prohibiting that of laying an export duty, manifested that they did not regard them as equivalent. Nor does the common sense of the people. An export duty fastens itself upon, and incorporates itself with, the article on which it is laid. The article cannot escape from it—it pursues and follows it wherever it goes; and if, in the foreign market, the supply is just equal or above the demand, the amount of the export duty will be a clear deduction to the exporter from the price of the article." * * * * *

The writer respectfully requests the reader to peruse the foregoing short paragraph a second time, or oftener, if necessary to understand the leading principle laid down in it, and in reference to which all intelligent and unprejudiced men agree—that IMPORT and EXPORT duties are not EQUIV-

ALERT. Gen. Hayne, in his voluntary explanation, yielded to the *principle* advocated by the friends of protection, and refuted the *principle* assumed by himself. The attention of the reader is particularly invited to the sentiments of intelligent men of both parties upon the subject, all of whom, without a single exception, agree that an import duty is not equivalent to an export duty. It certainly matters not as to the number of dollars necessary to support the government, whether the revenue is raised by an import or export duty; the same number of dollars and cents would be required in either case; the same number of custom-houses and custom-house-officers would be requisite. Now let us put the question directly to the people. Shall a tariff be continued on *importations* and no duty on our *exported* article? or shall the system be wholly changed, and a duty laid on all our *exports*, and all *imported* articles be admitted *free of duty*? All would go for a tariff on imports to the exclusion of a duty on our exported productions. Except those only who support foreign interests and who are not Americans in principle or feeling, there could be no other exceptions; democrats and whigs both would agree upon this question. In the language and meaning of Mr. Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, "we are all republicans; we are all federalists."

The writer will here relate an anecdote which he is assured occurred in a neighboring state. A farmer carried a basket of butter to market, sold it to a merchant, and received payment in coffee, which the merchant told him he could sell cheaper, but for the tariff. "I thought," said the farmer, "that the producers and not the consumers of coffee paid the duty." "Not so," said the merchant; "the consumers pay the duty." "Do the consumers of all articles upon which a duty or tax is laid, of any kind, direct or indirect always pay it?" asked the farmer, anxiously and with flashing eye. "Invariably; without an exception," said the merchant. "Then," said the farmer "I have a small but just claim upon you. In coming to market, I paid a fee for crossing the bridge and must pay another on my return, and yet I sold my butter no higher than those who reached the market-place without crossing the river, and I de-

mand of you twelve-and-a-half cents or a pound of coffee.” The toll paid by the farmer for crossing the river was, in effect, a tariff upon his butter, no part of which was paid by the merchant who was the purchaser and consumer. Just so with coffee and every other article which cross the ocean, and are subjected to toll, (tariff;) they are wholly paid by the *producer*, if the toll is *judiciously laid*. But it might be so high as to amount to prohibition or to throw a *part* of the toll upon the consumer. In the latter case, by deducting from the tariff the portion paid by the producer, the profits of the merchant on the coffee were not affected by his opinion that the farmer paid the tariff.—Merchants are as liable to commit errors in opinion as other men. They are, however, a useful and necessary class of society; they purchase our surplus productions and pay for them in money or such articles as are required. It would be inconvenient for the people of this section of country to go to South Carolina for their cotton and to Louisiana for their sugar, to which inconvenience they would be subjected if we had no merchants.

“But it is confidently argued,” said Mr Clay, “that the import duty falls upon the grower of cotton; and the case has been put in debate, and again and again, in conversation, of the South Carolina planter, who exports one hundred bales of cotton to Liverpool, exchanges them for one hundred bales of merchandise; and, when he brings them home, being compelled to leave, at the custom-house, forty bales in the form of duties. The argument is founded on the assumption that a duty of forty per cent., amounts to a subtraction of forty from the one hundred bales of merchandise. The first objection to it, is, that it supposes a case of barter which never occurs. If it is replied that it, nevertheless, occurs in the operations of commerce, the answer would be, that since the export of Carolina cotton is chiefly made by New York or foreign merchants, the loss stated, if it really existed, would fall upon them and not upon the planter. But, to test the correctness of the hypothetical case, let us suppose that the duty, instead of forty per cent., should be one hundred and fifty, which is asserted to be the duty in some cases;

then the planter would not only lose the whole hundred bales of merchandize which he had received for his hundred bales of cotton, but he would have to purchase with other means an additional fifty bales, in order to enable him to pay the duties accruing on the proceeds of cotton. Another answer is, that, if the *producer* of cotton in America exchanging against English fabrics pays the duty, the *producer* of those fabrics pays it also, and thus it is twice paid. Such must be the consequence, unless the principle is true on one side of the Atlantic and false on the other. The true answer is, that the exporter of the article, if he invests its proceeds in a foreign market, takes care to make the investment in such merchandize as, when brought home, he can sell with a fair profit.

* * * "The next objection to the American system is, that it subjects South Carolina to the payment of an undue proportion of the public revenue. * *

* * On this subject, I hold in my hands a statement from a friend of mine, of great accuracy, and a member of the Senate. According to this statement, in a crop of ten thousand dollars, the expenses may fluctuate between two thousand eight hundred dollars and three thousand two hundred dollars. Of this sum, about one-fourth, from seven to eight hundred dollars may be laid out in articles paying the protective duties; the residue is disbursed for provisions, mules, horses, oxen, wages of overseer, &c. Estimating the exports of South Carolina at eight millions, one-third is two millions, six hundred and sixty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six dollars; of which one-fourth is six hundred and sixty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six and two-thirds dollars. Now, supposing the protecting duty to be fifty per cent, and that it all enters into the price of the article, the amount paid by South Carolina would only be three hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three and one-third dollars. But the revenue of the United States may be stated at twenty-five millions; of which the portion of South Carolina, whatever standard, whether of wealth or population, be adopted, would be about one million. Of course, on this view of the subject, she actually pays only one-third of her fair and legitimate share."

The foregoing shows how unfounded were and still are the complaints of South Carolina against the tariff. Those who complain most frequently have the least cause; but S. Carolina had no cause whatever of complaint.

"An abandonment of the American system, it is urged, would lead to an addition to our exports of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The amount of one hundred and fifty millions of cotton in the raw state, would produce four hundred and fifty millions in the manufactured state, supposing no greater value to be communicated, in the manufactured form, than that which our industry imparts. Now, sir, where would markets be found for this vast addition to the supply? Not in the United States, certainly, nor in any other quarter of the globe; England having already every where pressed her cotton manufactures to the utmost point of repletion. We must look out for new worlds; seek for new and unknown races of mortals to consume this immense increase of cotton fabrics."

[Gen. Hayne said that he did not mean that the increase of one hundred and fifty millions to the amount of our exports would be of cotton alone, but of other articles.]

"What *other articles*? Agricultural produce, bread stuffs, beef, pork, &c.? *Where* shall we find markets for them? *Whither* shall we go? To *what* country, whose ports are not hermetically sealed against their admission? Break down the home market, and you are without resource. Destroy all other interests in the country, for the imaginary purpose of advancing the cotton planting interest, and you inflict a positive injury, without the smallest practical benefit to the cotton planter. Could Charleston, or the whole south, when all other markets are prostrated, or shut against the reception of the supplies of our farmers, receive that surplus? Would they buy more than they might want for their own consumption? Could they find markets which other parts of the Union could not?

"I regret, Mr. President, that one topic has, I think, unnecessarily been introduced in this debate. I allude to the charge brought against the manufacturing system, as favouring the growth of aristocracy. The joint stock companies of the north, as I understand them, are nothing more than

associations, sometimes of hundreds, by which the hard earnings of many are brought into a common stock, and the associates, obtaining corporate privileges, are enabled to prosecute, under one superintending head, their business to better advantage. Nothing can be more essentially democratic, or better devised to counterpoise the influence of individual wealth. In Kentucky, almost every manufactory known to me is in the hands of enterprising and self-made men, who have acquired whatever wealth they possess by patient and diligent labour. Comparisons are odious, and, but in defence, would not be made by me. But is there more tendency to aristocracy in a manufactory, supporting hundreds of freemen, or in a cotton plantation, with its not less numerous slaves, sustaining, perhaps, only two white families—that of the master and the overseer?”

There would be as much propriety in saying that two or three individuals, uniting their means and transacting business in partnership, constitute an aristocracy, as to say that a larger number, incorporated for the establishment of cotton, woollen, iron or any other manufactories, constitutes an aristocracy. Corporations enable the poor to compete with the rich. Under aristocratic forms of government, there are comparatively few incorporated companies, and they are generally so organized as to exclude men of small fortunes from having an interest in them. Happily for us, the case is, yet, very different in the United States. Men of small capital can, by uniting their means, establish manufactories which one, two, or even half-a-dozen of them could not do, and but for which all extensive manufactories would be owned by a few *wealthy* individuals. Every regular form of government may be justly compared to an incorporated company. It is, in fact, a national corporation, and all within its bounds are subordinates. Our government is incorporated upon democratic principles, and has a president and a board of directors. The corporation is intended to live forever; but the president and board of managers are elected at stated periods, with some exceptions, which are principally confined to the judicial board of directors. All our subordinate corporations, so far as the knowledge of the writer extends, are upon democratic principles; except those of a *secret* charac-

ter, which are *nondescript*. The writer, though a MASON, is opposed to granting corporate privileges to any secret societies, because it cannot increase their power or inclination to do good. *Let us alone*, is all that secret societies should demand.

"I pass, with pleasure," said Mr. Clay, "from this disagreeable topic, to two general propositions which cover the entire ground of debate. The first is that, under the operation of the American system, the objects which it protects and fosters are brought to the consumer at cheaper prices than they commanded prior to its introduction, or than they would command if it did not exist. If that be true, ought not the country to be contented and satisfied with the system, unless the second proposition, which I mean presently also to consider, is unfounded? And that is, that the tendency of the system is to sustain, and that it has upheld, the prices of all our agricultural and other produce, including cotton.

"And is the fact not indisputable, that all essential objects of consumption, affected by the tariff, are cheaper and better, since the act of 1824, than they were for several years prior to that law? I appeal, for its truth, to common observation and to all practical men. I appeal to the farmer of the country, whether he does not purchase, on better terms, his iron, salt, brown sugar, cotton goods, and woollens, for his labouring people? And I ask the cotton planter if he has not been better and more cheaply supplied with his cotton bagging?

* * *

"I plant myself upon this FACT, of cheapness and superiority, as upon impregnable ground.—Gentlemen may tax their ingenuity and produce a thousand speculative solutions of the fact, but the fact itself will remain undisturbed. The total consumption of bar-iron in the U. States, is supposed to be about one hundred and forty-six thousand tons, of which 112,866 are made in the country, and the residue imported. The number of men engaged in the manufacture is estimated at 29,254, and the total number subsisted by it, at one hundred and forty-six thousand, two hundred and seventy-three. *

* *

The price of bar-iron in the northern cities was in 1828, one hundred and five dollars per ton; in

1829, one hundred dollars; in 1830, ninety dollars, and in 1831, from eighty-five to seventy-five dollars—constantly diminishing.

* * * “The tailor will ask protection for himself, but wishes it denied to the grower of wool and the manufacturer of broad-cloth. The cotton planter enjoys protection for the raw material, but does not desire it to be extended to the cotton manufacturer. The ship-builder will ask protection for navigation, but does not want it extended to the essential articles which enter into the construction of his ship. Each, in his proper vocation, solicits protection, but would have it denied to all other interests which are supposed to come into collision with his. Now, the duty of the statesman is to elevate himself above these petty conflicts; calmly to survey all the various interests, and deliberately to proportion the measure of protection to each, according to its nature, and the general wants of society. * * * * *

“The success of our manufacture of coarse cottons is generally admitted. It is demonstrated by the fact that they meet the cotton fabrics of other countries, in foreign markets and maintain a successful competition with them. There has been a gradual increase of the exports of this article, which is sent to Mexico and the South American republics, to the Mediterranean, and even to Asia. The remarkable fact was lately communicated to me, that the *same* individual who, twenty-five years ago, was engaged in the importation of cotton cloth from Asia, for American consumption, is now engaged in the exportation of coarse American cottons to Asia for Asiatic consumption! And my honorable friend from Massachusetts, now in my eye, (Mr. Silsbee), informed me that, on his departure from home, among the last orders which he gave, one was for the exportation of coarse cotton to Sumatra, in the vicinity of Calcutta. I hold in my hand a statement, derived from the most authentic source, showing that the *identical* description of cotton cloth, which sold, in 1817 at twenty-nine cents per yard, was sold in 1819 at twenty-one cents; in 1821, at nineteen and a half cents; in 1823, at seventeen cents; in 1825, at fourteen and a half cents; in 1827,

at thirteen cents; in 1829, at nine cents; in 1830, at nine and a half cents; and in 1831, at from ten and a half to eleven cents. Such is the wonderful effect of protection, competition, and improvement in skill, combined. The year 1829 was one of some embarrassment to this branch of industry, probably owing to the principle of competition being pushed too far; hence we discover a small rise in the article the next two years. The introduction of calico printing into the United States continues an important era in our manufacturing industry. It commenced about the year 1825, and has since made such astonishing advances, that the whole quantity now annually printed is but little short of forty millions of yards—about two-thirds of our whole consumption. It is a beautiful manufacture, combining great mechanical skill with scientific discoveries in chemistry. * * Are the fine graceful forms of our fair country women less lovely when enveloped in the chintses and calicoes produced by *native* industry, than when clothed in the tinsel of foreign drapery?"

It has been frequently asserted by the opponents of protection that, if our manufactured fabrics can compete in foreign markets with foreign fabrics, and if our manufacturers can afford to export their articles to foreign climes, they do not require or deserve protection; and that the system ought to be abolished. With just as much or as little reason it might be said that as cultivation has rendered the earth productive, further cultivation is unnecessary and ought to be abolished. Protection afforded to our manufacturers, by creating competition and inviting and encouraging industry, will render them *productive*, exactly as cultivating the soil renders it *fruitful*. Abandon *both*, and our manufactories will dwindle and our land cease to be prolific—the price of manufactured articles would rise, and hunger and famine spread throughout our land. The use of means are not more essential to render the earth productive, than the use of means are to render our manufactories beneficial, by furnishing employment to thousands of men, women and children, and thereby producing necessary articles, which we would otherwise have to purchase from foreign nations.

The late tariff subjects imported wheat to a duty of twenty-five cents per bushel, barley, twenty cents, rye fifteen cents, oats ten cents, Indian corn ten cents; wheat flour seventy cents per hundred and twelve pounds; Indian meal twenty cents per hundred and twelve pounds; potatoes ten cents per bushel; beef and pork two cents per pound; hams and bacon three cents per pound; cheese nine cents per pound; butter five cents and lard three cents per pound.—A duty also on fish, &c. On unmanufactured wool, valued at seven cents per pound or under a duty, of five per cent., *ad valorem*; all other unmanufactured wool a duty of three cents per pound and thirty per cent., *ad valorem*. On all woollen fabrics, corresponding duties are laid: extending to forty per cent. on some articles. On carpeting, from thirty to sixty-five cents per square yard. On ready-made clothing for men, women and children, including boots, shoes and hats, a duty of from forty to fifty per cent. On raw cotton three cents per pound. On cotton fabrics thirty per cent., with some exceptions. On thread, from twenty-five to thirty per cent. On manufactures of silk, (except bolting cloths), two dollars and fifty cents per pound. Silk thread from one and a half to two dollars per pound. Floss and other similar silks, twenty-five per cent; raw silk, fifty cents per pound. On unmanufactured hemp forty dollars; and flax, twenty dollars per ton. On oil cloth, from ten to thirty-five cents per square yard; graduated by quality. On bar and wrought iron seventeen dollars per ton; or, if rolled, twenty-five dollars per ton; pig iron nine dollars per ton; vessels of cast-iron, from one to ten and a half cents per pound. Iron, cast, hammered, or rolled, and manufactured into hinges, chains, tools, pipes, &c., from two and a half to five cents per pound. Iron or steel wire, from five to eleven cents per pound. Silver or plated wire, thirty per cent. Brass or copper wire, twenty-five per cent. Bonnet wire, from eight to twelve cents per pound. On mill, pit and cross-cut saws one dollar each. On muskets, one dollar and a half; rifles, two and a half dollars each; on all edged tools, such as axes, chisels, &c., and on scale-beams, shovels, &c., thirty per cent.; on steel, in bars, from one fifty to two dollars and fifty cents per hundred and twelve

pounds; lead, in pigs and bars, three cents per pound; in other manufactured forms, additional duties; tin, in pigs, blocks or bars, one per cent.; in plates &c., two and a half per cent.; silver-plated metal, bell metal &c., thirty per cent.; coal, one dollar and three quarters per ton; on vessels of cut glass, from twenty-five to forty-five cents per pound; plain glass, from ten to fourteen cents per pound; window glass, from two to ten cents per square foot; all other glass subjected to corresponding duties; sole or bend leather six cents per pound; upper leather eight cents per pound; calf and seal skins, tanned and dressed, five dollars per dozen; other skins, tanned and dressed, or otherwise, in proportion; leather gloves, from fifty cents to one dollar and fifty cents per dozen; furs, on the skin, unraised, five per cent.; dressed, twenty-five per cent.; fur hats, caps &c., from twenty-five to thirty-five per cent.; wool hats, eighteen cents each; on brown sugar, two and a half cents per pound; advanced beyond that state, from four to six cents per pound; salt, eight cents per bushel; brandy, one dollar per gallon; other spirits, from sixty to ninety cents per gallon; wine, in casks, from thirty-five to sixty cents per gallon for first and second quality; from fifteen to twenty-five cents per gallon for third quality, and from six to twelve cents for the lowest quality—if bottled, a higher duty; ale, porter and beer, fifteen to twenty cents per gallon; leaf-tobacco, twenty per cent.; snuff, twelve cents per pound; manufactured tobacco, other than snuff and cigars, ten cents per pound; &c., &c. Tea, coffee, coins and various other articles are admitted free of duty; the present tariff differs but a shade from that of 1832.

* * "Brown sugar, from 1792 to 1802, with a duty of one and a half cents per pound, sold at fourteen. The same article, during ten years, from 1820 to 1830, with a duty of three cents, has averaged only eight cents per pound; nails, with a duty of five cents per pound, are selling at six cents; window glass, eight by ten, prior to the tariff of 1824, sold at twelve or thirteen dollars per hundred feet; it now sells for three dollars and seventy-five cents.

* * * * *

"This brings me to consider, what I apprehended to have been, the most efficient of all the causes in the reduction of the prices of manufactured articles—and that is COMPETITION. By competition, the total amount of the supply is increased, and by increasing the supply, a competition in the sale ensues, and this enables the consumer to buy at lower rates. Of all human powers operating on the affairs of mankind, none is greater than that of competition. It is action and re-action. It operates between individuals in the same nation, and between different nations. It resembles the meeting of the mountain torrent, grooving, by its precipitous motion, its own channel, and ocean's tide. Unopposed it sweeps every thing before it, but, counterpoised, the waters become calm, safe and regular. It is like the segments of a circle or an arch, taken separately, each is nothing; but, in their combination, they produce efficiency, symmetry and perfection." * * *

The beauty in the foregoing, is almost lost sight of in the force of the argument. Mr. Clay, after stating the effect the tariff had in reducing the price of other protected articles, states the duties imposed upon some of our exports by Great Britain:

"The duties," said Mr. Clay, "in the ports of the United Kingdom, of bread-stuffs, are prohibitory, except in times of dearth. On rice the duty is fifteen shillings sterling per hundred weight, being more than one hundred per cent. on manufactured tobacco, it is nine shillings sterling per pound, about two thousand per cent.; on leaf tobacco, three shillings per pound, or one thousand two hundred per cent.; on lumber and some other articles, they are from four hundred to fifteen hundred per cent., more than on similar articles imported from British colonies; on beef, pork, hams and bacon, the duty is twelve shillings sterling per hundred pounds, more than one hundred per cent."

Mr. Clay gives an account of the bread-stuffs and other provisions furnished the eastern manufacturers from the agricultural states in 1831:

"The quantity of flour imported into Boston, was two hundred and eighty-four thousand, five hundred and four barrels, and three thousand, nine hundred and ninety-five

half-barrels; of Indian corn, six hundred and eighty-one thousand, one hundred and thirty-one bushels; of oats, two hundred and thirty-nine thousand, eight hundred and nine bushels; of shorts, thirty-three thousand, four hundred and eighty bushels; and of rye, about fifty thousand bushels. Into the port of Providence, seventy-one thousand, three hundred and sixty-nine barrels of flour; two hundred and sixteen thousand, two hundred and sixty-two bushels of Indian corn, and seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-two bushels of rye. And there were discharged at the ports of Philadelphia, four hundred and twenty thousand, three hundred and fifty-three bushels of Indian corn; two hundred and one thousand, eight hundred and seventy-eight bushels of wheat; and one hundred and ten thousand, five hundred and fifty bushels of rye and barley. There were slaughtered in Boston the same year, 1831, (the only northern city from which I have received returns) thirty-three thousand, nine hundred and twenty-two beef cattle; fifteen thousand, four hundred store cattle; eighty-four thousand, four hundred sheep; twenty-six thousand, eight hundred and seventy-one swine. It is confidently believed that there is not a less quantity of southern flour consumed at the north than eight hundred thousand barrels—a greater amount, probably, than is shipped to all the world together.”

In this chapter the writer has acted more the part of a compiler, than an author. He cannot be justly charged of withholding the arguments of the opponents of a protective tariff, having quoted all the strongest arguments against it within his reach, and only one author in its support on the American side. Suppose a duty of three cents laid upon a pound of coffee and a proportionate duty upon a pound of tea: would there not be as much or as little sense in saying, that the producers of both articles could make us, the consumers, pay a dollar a pound for coffee and five dollars for tea, as to make us pay the duty? The question is now put to the sense and honest, unbiased judgment of the reader: why do not the producers of those articles make us, the consumers, pay one dollar a pound for coffee and five or ten dollars a pound for tea? The answer, which is

important in the investigation of the principle involved, is easily given to the satisfaction of every man whose mind is unfettered by party, and who wishes to understand principles as they really exist. The correct answer is this:—the price of every article is governed by supply, demand and the ability to pay for it. We might readily suppose that by a general failure for successive years of the crops of coffee, or from our being involved in a protracted maritime war, with a powerful nation, that the supply might fall so far below the demand as to raise them to the prices supposed. During the late war, coffee retailed in Hagerstown at thirty-seven and a half cents, and tea at two dollars and fifty cents per pound; and if the war had continued two years longer, the prices would have, probably, been doubled.

It has been frequently asserted that the manufactories of England are the cause of the low wages and distress of the labouring class. The truth or fallacy of the declaration can be established beyond question or doubt. The population of Great Britain, at the last enumeration, was two hundred and sixty to the square mile. Taking into consideration the quantity of sterile and uncultivated land, the population to each square mile of arable land must exceed three hundred. If, then, the factories and workshops were closed, thousands, yea, millions, (including children,) could not obtain labour even if they would work for nothing; and government would have to adopt immediate means for their subsistence until they could be transported to foreign shores where they could obtain labour, or they would perish from famine or fall by the sword in attempting to obtain subsistence by force, which they could not obtain by labour.

Never, it is believed, since the foundation of our government was there a greater redundance of grain, meat and all vegetable productions throughout our wide-spread country than at the present period; provisions of all kinds are comparatively low and prices are declining; and yet thousands of mechanics and labouring men cannot obtain employment, and consequently cannot supply themselves with provisions sufficient for their comfortable support. If our manufactories were properly protected, all classes of our citizens could

obtain employment, and the probability is that flour would range from five to six dollars per barrel, all other articles of provisions in the same proportion, and mechanics would receive fair prices and have a ready sale for their manufactured articles. At present, provisions are low, but hard to command by the mechanics and labouring men, because of the want of employment. The question is put to the unbiased understanding of the whole people, whether a protecting tariff would not promote the *general good of all*.

The writer believes that he would be as little affected in a pecuniary point of view by the measures of government, or the triumph of one party and the downfall of another, as any man in the nation. He has but a short time to live and few days to provide for; he has ceased to be ambitious beyond what is necessary for the comfortable support of himself and family, and to possess and deserve the confidence of those with whom he is acquainted; but he feels deeply interested for the general good and public welfare, and for the happiness and prosperity of the whole people. He contends for such measures and principles, only, as will produce the greatest amount of happiness and prosperity, without regard to party.

- It has been asked, why are not house-carpenters protected by a tariff? As yet, dwellings, mills, barns, &c., built in Europe, have not been shipped to the United States, and it has been thought not necessary to lay a tariff upon imported houses; but, by a discriminating tariff, the house carpenter is benefitted, being a recipient of the benefits arising from the general prosperity of the country. It has been said that the number of journeymen and apprentices employed in cotton and woollen factories constitutes an aristocracy. If the assertion is true, it is also true that an equal number of journeymen employed in cordwainers' shops, cabinet-makers' shops, ship-yards, tanneries, &c., also makes an aristocracy. Is it more aristocratic to take wool in the fleece, and cotton in the bale, and manufacture them into clothing, than it is to dig ore out of the mine and pass it on until, in bar-iron, it leaves the forge hammer?

If the mind can be relieved from bias and party fetters, and the protective system examined from the same motives

that a man would figure out an arithmetical question, there could be but one opinion as to the *general principle and effect of the protective system*. An honest difference in opinion would frequently arise as to the amount of duty which could be laid without putting any part of it on the consumer; also, as to what articles ought to be protected; and circumstances would, or might create defects which the statesman, as a duty, should correct, without abandoning the principle.

A horse can carry a boy and three bushels of corn to the mill, and when the corn is ground, he can carry back the boy and meal without inconvenience; but the horse could not carry fifty bushels, because the weight is too great for his strength, and he would sink under it. What has the figure to do with protective duties? We answer, that, upon the same principle that a horse can carry three bushels of corn without inconvenience, but would be crushed by fifty bushels, a pound of coffee would bear a duty of one or two cents, without throwing the duty on the consumer; but if a tariff of fifty cents was laid on a pound of coffee, it would be more than it could bear. Do not the statesman, farmer and mechanic see the application of the figure? Does not every man, whose mind is unfettered, see the propriety, the sense and justice of being governed by the principle of *proportion* to produce an *equilibrium* and promote the general good? The statesman who would assert that if a pound of coffee could pay a duty of one or two cents per pound without throwing it upon the consumer, it would, upon the same principle, pay a duty of fifty cents without throwing it upon the consumer, would not commit a greater absurdity by saying that if a horse could carry three bushels of corn, he could, upon the same principle, carry fifty bushels. The weight of three bushels of corn would be felt by the horse, and the weight of one or two cents upon a pound of coffee would be felt by the *producer*, who, having a surplus, would find it more to his interest to pay the duty than not to sell it; but if a duty of fifty cents were laid upon it, he could not afford to pay it and sell at the present prices. The consequence would be that the tariff would amount to a prohibition; or most, though not *all* of the duty would be paid by

the consumers; because the article cannot be raised in this country. A duty of fifty cents upon a pound of coffee would throw from forty-five to forty-eight cents upon the consumer, and from two to five cents upon the producer, which is as much as the article will bear without imposing a part of the duty on the consumer. But if coffee was raised in the United States as abundantly as corn, a duty of fifty cents upon the imported article could never affect the price of it in this country.

The writer will, for the sake of argument, concede that a protective tariff laid in the most skilful and judicious manner, would be paid, in *part*, by the consumers. He will not admit, even for argument's sake, that *all* would fall on the consumers—that would be an absurdity too great to be entertained by any unprejudiced man. He then asks whether a system which would afford employment and fair wages to thousands of men, women and children, who are now idle, because “no man has hired” them, would not produce benefits and blessings to all classes of the people? Can any philanthropist or man of observation behold the number of men, women and children, in cities, towns and neighbourhoods, who are idle from necessity, not choice, without being impressed by painful sensations? *Behold the temptations to which they are exposed. The human family are not as depraved by nature as they are frequently represented to be—crime and misery generally flow from the imperfections in the form or measures of government—the morals of the body of the people will be in accordance with the form or measures of government—history and observation prove the truth of the sentiments.*

☞ CAUSES PRODUCE EFFECTS. ☞ Is it not the duty of government to pursue a policy which would enable them to obtain labour, and stimulate them to industry, ensure to them all the necessaries and comforts of life, without departing from sound morals and correct habits?

When we contemplate the vast extent of our country, the fertility of soil, rich and abundant agricultural productions, inexhaustible mineral resources and great water power, it is absolutely certain, that if the general government pursued a just policy, the labouring man and industrious

woman would be sought for; the loafer would become ashamed of idleness, and our whole population might be compared to a swarm of bees industriously laying up rich stores—vice would diminish in proportion as a constant demand for labour and a just compensation to the labourer would lessen the *motive* in which vice is founded.

The writer is opposed to prohibitory duties as illiberal towards foreign nations. But he does say that it would be better to prohibit all foreign articles, without an exception, than to admit foreign importations free of duty. Prohibition would deprive us of some articles, most of which are luxurious; but it would be productive of substantial benefits and blessings, compared with the admissions of foreign articles free of duty. If it be asked how a revenue would be raised to support the government, and whether foreign nations would purchase our surplus, if we prohibited theirs, we answer: if it be true that the consumers pay the duty, as is asserted by the opposers of protection, then the consumers would be benefitted by prohibition; because they would only have to pay an equivalent for the duty they now pay, and would be relieved from paying for the article which was prohibited. Take a case: a man purchases various foreign articles to the amount of forty dollars, which paid a duty of ten dollars; prohibit all importations, and he would only have ten dollars to pay to the government and have thirty left to supply himself with domestic articles; consequently he could not lose or gain, admitting the theory of the consumers paying all the duty, which is, however, an absurdity of the highest order. If all importations were prohibited, a portion of our population would necessarily be drawn off from agriculture, sufficiently so to supply all the manufactured articles; and a home demand and market would be created which would leave comparatively a small quantity for exportation; and as foreign nations purchase nothing from us which they can produce themselves, it is more than probable that we would obtain a *higher* price for our surplus productions than we now receive, and that the whole country would be substantially benefitted. The writer is in favour of discriminating and protective duties, and not of duties on tea, coffee and

other necessary articles, which are not of the growth, produce and manufacture of our country. He distinctly says that the government ought to give as decided preference to the whole people of the United States over the people of every other nation as parents give to their own children over the children of their neighbours. The writer pronounces this the true policy. He will close this chapter by quoting from the last annual communication of the illustrious Jefferson to Congress. A protective tariff was one of his favourite and leading measures, and was denounced by its opponents as the "TERRAPIN POLICY:"

"The probable accumulation of the surplusses of revenue beyond what can be applied to the payment of the public debt, whenever the freedom and safety of our commerce shall be restored, merits the consideration of Congress.— Shall it lie in the public vaults? Shall the revenue be reduced? Or, shall it not rather be appropriated to the improvements of roads, canals, rivers, education, and other great foundations of prosperity and union, under the powers which Congress may already possess, or such amendment of the Constitution as may be approved by the state? While uncertain of the course of things, the time may be advantageously employed in obtaining the powers necessary for a system of improvement, should that be thought best."

CHAPTER VII.

On Banking Institutions.

Banks have grown up with our political institutions, and have been supported by every political party since the formation of the government. With the erection and management of the state banks, however, the federal government has nothing to do. The constitutionality of a National Bank has been questioned by a large portion of the

people of the United States; whilst, on the other hand, it has been, directly or indirectly, pronounced constitutional by most of the fathers of the old republican and federal parties. It has, it is believed, been pronounced constitutional by every member of the convention that framed the Constitution, so far as their sentiments can be ascertained. The writer has not been able to find any evidence that any member of the convention pronounced a National Bank unconstitutional, and it has been declared constitutional by a decision of the Supreme Court. The question was never submitted to the people of the United States unconnected with any other, and it is not probable that it ever will. It is natural for every politician to believe that a majority of the people think exactly as he does upon all important questions. If the sentiments of the representatives are regarded as the voice of the people, an affirmative or negative vote is entitled to equal consideration.

The writer will go upon the principle that the representatives have expressed the sentiments of their constituents upon the bank question at every decision in Congress upon the subject. If it be said, by the opponents of a Bank, that every vote in Congress in favour of a Bank was in opposition to the sentiments of a majority of the people, upon the same principle, it may be said that a majority of Congress always have been and ever will be in opposition to the voice of the people upon all subjects. Such a declaration, however, could have no weight with an unprejudiced man; but arguments would be unavailing with an opponent of a Bank who believes that a majority of the people have invariably thought exactly as he has upon the subject, and that the decisions of the representatives of the people and of presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson, sanctioned by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in support of the constitutionality of a National Bank, are wrong. A National Bank, as we shall prove by the official communications of president Jackson, was one of his favourite measures; and we shall prove, also, that he was as anxious for the establishment of such an institution as he was for an amendment of the Constitution so as to make the president ineligible for a second term—the evidence in both

cases being equally clear and conclusive, and such as cannot be shaken without questioning his sincerity.

The yeas and nays on the final passage of the first Bank bill in the Senate of the United States, on Thursday, January 20th, 1791, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. *Bassett*, Dalton, *Dickenson*, Ellsworth, Elmer, Foster, Gunn, *Johnson*, Johnston, *King*, *Langdon*, McClay, *Morris*, Read, Schuiler, Stanton, Strong, Wingate—18.

Nays—Messrs. *Butter*, *Few*, Hawkins, Izard, Monroe—5.

Three of the members were absent. Those in *italic* were members of the convention which formed the Constitution. Six voted for it, and Gen. Washington, the president of the convention, approved the bill; two voted against it. The party names at that period were federalists and anti-federalists; the latter soon took the title of republicans, headed by Mr. Jefferson.

Extract from the Journal of the House of Representatives, February 8th, 1791.

“*Yeas and Nays* upon the passage of the bill entitled “An act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States”:—

Yeas—Fisher Ames, Egbert Benson, Elias Boudinot, Benjamin Bowen, Lambert Cadwallader, *George Clymer*, *Thomas Fitzsimons*, William Floyd, Abiel Foster, Elbridge Gerry, Nicholas Gilman, Benjamin Goodhue, Thomas Hartley, John Hathorn, Daniel Heister, Benjamin Huntington, John Lawrence, George Leonard, Samuel Livermore, Peter Muhlenberg, George Partridge, Jeremiah Van Rensselear, James Schureman, Thomas Scott, Theodore Sedgwick, Joshua Seney, John Seiver, *Roger Sherman*, Peter Silvester, Thomas Sinnickson, William Smith of Md., William Smith of S. C., John Steele, Jonathan Sturges, George Thatcher, Jonathan Trumbull, J. Vining, J. Wadsworth, Henry Wynkoop—39.

Nays—John Baptist Ashe, Abraham Baldwin, Timothy Bloodworth, John Brown, Edanus Burke, Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, George Gale, Jonathan Grout, William B. Giles, James Jackson, Richard Bland Lee, *James Madison*, jr., George Matthews, Andrew Moore, Josiah Parker, M. Jenifer Stone, Thomas Tudor Tucker, Alexander White, *Hugh Williamson*.—20.”

Those in *italic*, five in all, were members of the convention which framed the Constitution. The writer cannot politically designate many of them, and will, therefore, class those only of whom he can speak with certainty. Messrs. Bassett, Dickenson, Langdon and Monroe, of the Senate, were anti-federalists. Mr. Monroe, who voted in the negative, afterwards changed his sentiments upon the subject, as will be proven in the proper place. In the House of Representatives, Messrs. Gerry, Heister, Giles and Madison were anti-federalists; Richard Bland Lee was a federalist from Va., and was superseded by Richard Brent, a Jeffersonian republican, who, after succeeding to the United States Senate, voted for rechartering the Bank in 1811. Mr. Brent was one of Virginia's favourite sons, and it was believed that he was unsurpassed in point of talent by any member of either department of Congress.

The following is a transcript, furnished by a member of Congress, from the journals, of the vote on the bill for rechartering the first Bank, in 1811. As the writer cannot politically designate many of the members, he will only class the Virginia senators, Brent and Giles, who were republicans. It will be seen that the Senate was equally divided, and that Mr. Clinton, vice-president, decided the question in favour of striking out the first section. In the House, the bill was indefinitely postponed, by a majority of *one*. At that period, the republicans had a large majority in both Houses. He believes the federalists had but ten members in the Senate and not more than forty-five in the House.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S. }
January 24, 1811. }

The House resumed the consideration of the unfinished business of yesterday, and the question depending at the time of the adjournment, to wit: the indefinite postponement of the order of the day on the bill to continue for a further time the charter of the Bank of the United States, was again stated, and being taken, it was resolved in the affirmative. Yeas, 65. Nays 64.

Yeas—Lemuel J. Alston, Wm. Anderson, Ezekial Bacon, David Bard, Wm. T. Barry, Burwell Bassett, William W. Bibb, Adam Boyd, Robt. Brown, Wm. Butler, Joseph Cal-

houn, Langdon Cheves, Mathew Clay, James Cochran, Win. Crawford, Richard Cutts, John Dawson, Joseph Desha, John W. Eppes, Meshack Franklin, Barzillai Gannett, Gideon Gardner, Thomas Gholson, Peterson Goodwyn, Edwin Gray, James Holland, Richard M. Johnson, Walter Jones, Thomas Kenan, Wm. Kennedy, John Love, Aaron Lyle, Nathaniel Macon, Alexander M'Kim, Wm. McKinley, Samuel L. Mitchell, John Montgomery, Nicholas R. Moore, Thomas Moore, Jeremiah Morrow, Gurdon S. Mumford, Thomas Newton, John Porter, Peter B. Porter, John Rea, of Penn., John Rea, of Tenn., Matthias Richards, Samuel Ringgold, John Roane, Ebenezer Sage, Lemuel Sawyer, Ebenezer Seaver, Adam Seybert, John Smilie, Geo. Smith, Samuel Smith, Henry Southard, George M. Troup, Charles Turner, jr., Archibald Van Horn, Robert Weakley, Robert Whitehill, Richard Winn, Robert Witherspoon, Robert Wright.—65.

Nays—Joseph Allen, Willis Alston, jr., Abijah Bigelow, Daniel Blaisdell, James Breckenridge, John Campbell, John C. Chamberlain, Wm. Chamberlain, Epaphraditus Champion, Martin Chittenden, John Davenport, jr., Wm. Ely, James Emott, Wm. Findley, Jonathan Fisk, Barent Gardenier, David S. Garland, Charles Goldsborough, Thos. R. Gold, Wm. Hale, Nathaniel A. Haven, Daniel Heister, Wm. Holmes, Jona. H. Hubbard, Jacob Hufty, Ebenezer Huntington, Richard Jackson, jr., Robert Jenkins, Philip B. Key, Herman Knickerbacker, Joseph Lewis, jr. Robert Le Roy Livingston, Vincent Mathews, Archibald McBryde, Samuel McKee, Pleasant M. Miller, Wm. Milnor, Jona. O. Moseley, Thos. Newbold, John Nicholson, Joseph Pearson, Benj. Pickman, jr., Timothy Pitkin, jr., Elisha R. Potter, Joshua Quincy, John Randolph, Thomas Sammons, J. A. Scudder, Samuel Shaw, Daniel Sheffey, Dennis Smelt, John Smith, Richard Stanford, John Stanley, James Stephenson, Lewis B. Sturgis, Jacob Swoope, Samuel Taggart, Benj. Tallmadge, John Thompson, Nicholas Van Dyke, K. K. Van Rensselaar, Laban Wheaton, Jas. Wilson.—64.

IN THE SENATE OF THE U. S., }

February 20, 1811. }

Agreeably to the order of the day the Senate resumed,

as in committee of the whole, the bill to amend and continue in force an act entitled "An Act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States, passed on the 25th day of February, 1791"; and, on the question to strike out the first section of the bill, as follows: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the act entitled 'An Act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States, passed the 25th of Feb., 1791,' be and the same is hereby continued in force until the 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1831, subject to the conditions and restrictions hereinafter specified,'" it was determined in the affirmative. Yeas 17. Nays 17.

Yeas—Messrs. Anderson, Campbell, Clay, Cutts, Franklin, Gaillard, German, Giles, Gregg, Lambert, Leib, Mathewson, Reed, Robinson, Smith, of Md., Whiteside and Worthington.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Bradley, Brent, Champlin, Condit, Crawford, Dana, Gilman, Goodrich, Horsey, Lloyd, Pickering, Pope, Smith, of N. Y., Tait, Taylor and Turner.

The Senate being equally divided, the President determined the question in the affirmative."

The following is the vote for the chartering of the second National Bank:—

"From the National Intelligencer of August 8, 1840.

The question on the final passage of the Bank bill in the House of Representatives [in 1816] was determined in the affirmative, by yeas 81, nays 71; as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Adgate, Alexander, Atherton, Baer, Betts, Boss, Bradbury, Brown, Calhoun, Cannon, Champion, Chappell, Clark, of N. C., Clark, of Ky., Clendenin, Comstock, Condict, Conner, Creighton, Crocheron, Cuthbert, Edwards, Forney, Forsyth, Gholson, Griffin, Grosvenor, Hawes, Henderson, Huger, Hulbert, Hungerford, Ingham, Irving, Jackson, Jewett, Kerr, King, Love, Lowndes, Lumpkin, Maclay, Mason, McCoy, McKee, Middleton, Moore, Moseley, Murrefree, Nelson, Parris, Pickens, Pinkney, Piper, Robertson, Sharpe, Smith, of Md., Smith, of Va., Southard, Taul, Taylor, of N. Y., Taylor, of S. C., Telfair, Thomas, Throop, Townsend, Tucker, Ward, Wendover, Wheaton, Wilde,

Wilkin, Williams, Willoughby, Thomas Wilson, of Penn., William Wilson, of Penn., Woodward, Wright, Yancey, Yates—81.

Nays—Messrs. Baker, Barbour, Bassett, Bennett, Bird-sall, Blount, Breckenridge, Burnside, Burwell, Cady, Caldwell, Cilley, Clayton, Clopton, Cooper, Crawford, Culpeper, Darlington, Davenport, Desha, Gaston, Gold, Goldsborough, Goodwin, Hahn, Hale, Hall, Hanson, Hardin, Herbert, Hopkinson, Johnson, Kent, Langdon, Law, Lewis, Lovett, Lyle, Lyon, Marsh, Mayrant, McLean, of Ky., McLean, of Ohio, Milnor, Newton, Noyes, Ormsby, Pickering, Pitkin, Randolph, Reed, Root, Ross, Ruggles, Savage, Sergeant, Sheffey, Smith, Stanford, Stearns, Strong, Sturges, Taggart, Tallmadge, Vose, Wallace, Ward, of Mass., Ward, of N. Y., Webster, Whiteside, Wilcox—71.

Classed politically, according to the designations of party at that day, of the Republican Members sixty-seven voted in favor of the bill, and of the Federal Members thirteen; and of those who voted against the bill, about one-half were Republicans and one-half Federalists. Two-thirds of the Republicans, therefore, voted for the bill, and more than two-thirds of the Federalists against it.

When the bill came to the Senate, it was debated, amended, and finally passed by the following vote :

Yeas—Messrs. Barbour, Barry, Brown, Campbell, Chase, Condit, Daggett, Fromentin, Harper, Horsey, Howell, Hunter, Lacock, Mason, of Va., Morrow, Roberts, Talbot, Tait, Taylor, Turner, Varnum, Williams—22.

Nays—Messrs. Dana, Gaillard, Goldsborough, Gore, King, Macon, Mason, of N. H., Ruggles, Sanford, Tichenor, Wells, Wilson—12.

Of the Yeas, on this vote, seventeen were Republicans and five Federalists, and of the Nays, five were Republicans and seven Federalists.

So that two-thirds of all the Republican Members of Congress assisted to pass the Bank Charter, and two-thirds of the Federalists did their best to prevent its passage."

The writer next adds the vote taken in the Senate, 11th June, 1832, on the bill extending the charter of the second bank; which bill was vetoed by president Jackson:

Yeas—Messrs. Bell, Buckner, Chambers, Clay, Clayton, Dallas, Ewing, Foot, Frelinghuysen, Hendricks, Holmes, Johnston, Naudain, Poindexter, Prentiss, Robbins, Robinson, Ruggles, Seymour, Silsebee, Smith, Sprague, Tipton, Tomlinson, Waggamon, Webster, Wilkins—28.

Nays—Benton, Bibb, Brown, Dickerson, Dudley, Ellis, Forsyth, Grundy, Hayne, Hill, Kane, King, Mangum, Marcy, Miller, Moore, Tazewell, Troup, Tyler, White—20.

In the House, July 3rd:—

Yeas—Messrs. Adams, Chilton Allan, H. Allen, Allison, Appleton, Armstrong, Arnold, Ashley, Babcock, Banks, Barber, Barringer, Barstow, Isaac C. Bates, Boon, Briggs, Bucher, Bullard, Burd, Burges, Choate, Collier, Lewis Condict, Silas Condict, Eleutheros Cocke, Bates Cooke, Cooper, Corwin, Coulter, Craig, Crane, Crawford, Creighton, Daniel, John Davis, Dearborn, Denney, Dewart, Dordridge, Drayton, Ellsworth, J. Evans, Edward Everett, Horace Everett, G. Evans, Ford, Gilmore, Grennell, Hodges, Heister, Horn, Hughes, Huntington, Ihrie, Ingersoll, Irwin, Isacks, Jenifer, Kendall, Henry King, Kerr, Letcher, Mann, Marshall, Maxwell, R. McCoy, McDuffie, McKennan, Mercer, Milligan, Newton, Pearce, Pendleton, Pitcher, Potts, Randolph, John Reed, Root, Russell, Semmes, William B. Shepard, A. G. Shepperd, Slade, Smith, Southard, Spence, Stanberry, Stephens, Stewart, Storrs, Southerland, Taylor, Philemon Thomas, Tompkins, Tracy, Vance, Verplank, Vinton, Watmough, Wilkin, E. Whittlesey, F. Whittlesey, E. D. White, Wickliffe, Williams, Young.—107.

Nays—Messrs. Adair, Alexander, Anderson, Archer, Barnwell, J. Bates, Beardsley, Bell, Bergen, Bethune, J. Blair, John Blair, Bouck, Bouldin, Branch, J. C. Broadhead, Camberleng, Carr, Chandler, Chinn, Claiborne, Clay, Clayton, Conner, Davenport, Dayan, Doubleday, Felder, Fitzgerald, Foster, Gaither, Gordon, Griffen, T. H. Hall, W. Hall, Hammons, Harper, Hawes, Hawkins, Hoffman, Hogan, Holland, Howard, Hubbard, Jarvis C. Johnson, Kavanaugh, Kendall, Kennon, A. King, J. King, Lamar, Lansing, Leavitt, Lecompte, Lewis, Lyon, Mardis, Mason, McCarty, McIntyre, McKay, Mitchell, Newman, Nuckols, Patton, Pierson, Plummer, Polk, E. C. Reed, Rencher, Roane,

Soule, Speight, Standifer, F. Thomas, W. Thompson, Ward, Wardwell, Wayne, Weeks, Wheeler, Camp P. White, Wild, Worthington.—85

The writer will be excused for not designating the parties as Federalists and Republicans, as no such parties were in existence at that time. The distinctive party names at *that* period were Jacksonians or the Jackson party, and the National Republican party or Ante Jackson. The democratic and whig parties were not organized for several years afterwards. The truth of the foregoing will not be questioned by any man whose recollection of party names will carry him back to that period, and when memory is deficient, a reference to the files of party papers of that period will settle the question.

As the writer never belonged to the federal party, he cannot be expected to attempt to eulogise the federalists; but he has no desire to do them injustice. During the Revolution, Washington was the Samson in the field and Jefferson the Solomon in council. After the patriots, by their united valor in the field, and wise measures in the Legislative Halls, wrested the colonies from Great Britain, and proceeded to form a constitution and organize an independent government, free discussion developed different views, which gave rise to political names. Those who took the name of federalists, were as true game cocks and patriots throughout the days that tried men's souls, as those who chose the names of republicans. After the republicans turned the federalists out of office, it is but justice to say, that with few exceptions, they carried out all the leading measures of the federal party. But it is due to the republicans to say that they considered the federalists as premature in some of their measures, and, moreover, that they did not consider them as competent to manage the affairs of the nation as they, the republicans, were.

During the late war, the political struggle between the republicans and federalists was increased in violence.—The latter were opposed to the declaration of war which they pronounced unnecessary. It is not probable that any liberal minded man ever denounced the federal party for being opposed to the declaration of war. Several repub-

lican members of Congress voted with the federalists in opposition to its declaration; it was, however, declared by a large majority of the representatives of the people. The course of the federalists, generally, as *civilians*, in opposing the measures to carry on the war, was pronounced exceptionable by the republicans. The federalists denounced the republicans for declaring the war, and the republicans denounced the federalists for not uniting with them in all the measures for its support; and there was no umpire to settle the question between them. The federalists, generally, in and out of Congress, declared their willingness to support the war if its operations were confined within the limits of the United States and on the water; but were opposed to the invasion of Canada, whilst the enemy, in the language of Mr. Webster, was illuminating his course by the conflagration of houses and villages on the shores of our bays and rivers. On the other hand the republicans asserted, (the writer thinks correctly,) that sound policy dictated that the war should be carried into the enemies country, and that he should be attacked at every assailable point; and by invading Canada draw his forces from our territory. The federalists, as *civilians* and *military* men, presented a contrast—they fought as bravely as did the republicans. The federalists, generally, commanded on the water, and the republicans, generally, on land. The Federalists claimed almost every naval victory; and their papers frequently, *tauntingly*, headed an article, in capitals: "ANOTHER NAVAL VICTORY BY A FEDERALIST!" Although the writer rejoiced at the victory, he did not relish the caption, which he thought unnecessary; and though the writer does not believe that the federalists were as bad as they are sometimes represented to have been, yet, it is certain that if it was possible for the calander of time to be turned back thirty-five years, he would be placed where he then was, in the republican ranks, battling against the federalists. Since that time political names have frequently changed and politicians have turned summersets; and similar changes in names and measures will continue as long as our present form of government lasts and the mind is left free to think and act.

The democrats of the present day sometimes say that they are a continuation of the old republican party. The whig and democratic parties are each "like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind." Each party is composed of individuals of all classes, good and bad, *positive*, COMPARATIVE and SUPERLATIVE.

The only means by which we can arrive at the sentiments of any man upon any subject is by his words spoken or written. A man may express sentiments which he does not entertain; but this cannot disturb the premises laid down. We might as well attempt to hold an agreeable and important conversation with a dead man as to arrive at the sentiments of a living man, except by his words. We shall now prove by the words of president Jackson (his words alone shall be taken,) that, notwithstanding he was opposed to THE Bank he was an advocate for A Bank of a national character. In his first message after expressing his objections to THE Bank—the bank then in existence—he adds a paragraph in the following words:—

"Under these circumstances, if such an institution is essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the Legislature whether a NATIONAL ONE, founded upon the credit of our government and its revenues, might not be devised, which would avoid all constitutional difficulties; and, at the same time, secure all the advantages to the government and *country* that were *expected to result from the present bank.*"

A few words are emphasised. There cannot be found a sentence throughout all his official communications which conflicts with the foregoing; if there could, he would contradict himself; but such is not the case, and his friends should not be anxious to place him in that predicament. We next examine his veto message, in which he again appears an advocate for A National Bank. The second paragraph is in the following words:

"A Bank of the United States is in many respects convenient for the government and useful to the people. Entertaining this opinion, and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the privileges possessed by the existing Bank are unauthorised by the Constitution, subservive of the rights

of the states, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, I felt it my duty, at an early period of my administration, to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organizing an institution combining all its advantages, and obviating these objections. I sincerely regret that, in the act before me, I can see none of those modifications of the Bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice, with sound policy, or with the constitution of our country."

Mark his words! "*Some of the privileges,*"—not *all* of the privileges. Again: "I sincerely regret," &c. His language cannot be misunderstood by an intelligent man, nor will it be misrepresented or distorted by any who claims to be candid. The writer's respect for the intelligent reader impels him to make no further comment on it.

Towards the close of his message, for the purpose, doubtless, of impressing upon the minds of the people that he was in favour of a Bank, president Jackson uses the following language:

"That a Bank of the U. S. competent to all the duties which may be required by the government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our own delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the states, *I do not entertain a doubt.* Had the executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, *the duty would have been cheerfully performed.*"

As comment on the foregoing might be considered by the reader altogether superfluous, none will be made. It may not be generally known that the re-election of president Jackson was urged, in some sections of the country, on the ground, among other reasons, that, at the next Congress, he would propose a project for a Bank—that we would have a better Bank, better currency, &c. The writer would, were it not improper, name prominent men now living who zealously supported the re-election of president Jackson and asserted that he would communicate at the next session of Congress a project for a Bank. They were, doubtless, sincere. Other Jacksonians objected to the veto on the ground that the president expressed sentiments in favour of a Bank.

The substance of the charges made against the Bank was,

that it was a great monied monopoly—an aristocratic and rotten institution, worming its way and power throughout the Union—bribing and corrupting the people—that, if it was re-chartered, it would overturn the government, &c. Agriculturalists have yielded their objections to the teachings of experience and, from the evidence of their senses, have adopted certain systems. Not so with the opponents of a Bank—it is a *party* question. What we shall say of the late Bank, will apply generally to the first.

It furnished a sound, uniform and convenient currency for all classes of society. In all sections of the Union it was equivalent to specie, or at a premium. There was frequently a premium, paid in specie, for its notes; but they were never at a discount. The bank received and paid out the government funds without charge. It paid into the Treasury the government stock at the rate of about one hundred and sixteen dollars for every one hundred of the original stock—its annual dividends averaged about seven per cent. Its sound and useful currency rendered it, in the estimation of its opponents, dangerous to the liberties of the people. Upon the same principle whenever a president becomes very popular and his measures found highly beneficial to the nation, he ought to be denounced an aristocrat, labouring to bribe and corrupt the people, and should be hurled from office. All our institutions, moral and physical, must be managed by human minds and hands. And all that was or could be said of the dangerous power of a National Bank, might with equal propriety be said of a president of the United States. Suppose that the United States should hereafter be involved in a war with a powerful nation, and the result doubtful, and the president should turn traitor and join the enemy? Would that prove that we ought not to have a president, but a king? or would it prove any thing against the principles or form of our government? The horse and the ox are useful animals, and yet men have been killed by the kick of a horse, and gored to death by an ox. A power to do good must carry with it an equal or superior power to do evil. Every institution and every individual, without a single exception, possesses at least as much power to do evil as to do

good. The power of an institution or an individual to do good, cannot be greater than the power to do evil. But, generally speaking, a power to do good increases the power to do evil. An ordinary man cannot do much good, and yet he could commit a murder or set fire to a town. Besides, the vetoing of the bank bill has certainly increased the power to commit all the evils so much dreaded, and which were set forth in the veto message in imposing language and good style, as it is certain that rain and snow produce freshets—the proof in both cases is equally conclusive. It was the cause of increasing state banks, and bank capital, far beyond the capital of the national institution; which, after being cut off from the federal government, was adopted by Pennsylvania with a capital of twenty-eight millions of dollars—twenty-five millions, at least, too much for a state institution, surrounded by other banks. It was burthened by heavy bonuses; and to enable it to use its large capital, it had privileges given to it, foreign to the legitimate business of banking, and never before, it is believed, conferred on any other bank: it might justly have been compared to an extensive commercial or trading company, and like many other trading houses failed, and the stockholders lost, it is believed, all their stock. It has sometimes been said that it was the same national bank, changed only in name. Upon the same principle when a rich man dies, and his estate passes into the possession of his heirs,—it is the same estate managed by its former, but deceased owner. The national bank was *dead*; its large estate (capital,) passed from the federal to the state government of Pennsylvania, and the power of the former and its supporters arrayed against it. Without questioning the motives of president Jackson, and those who united with him in destroying the national bank, their measures are the cause of the great increase of banks and the shin-plaster currency, which subsequently flooded the country, and the *real* cause of the loss and distress produced by the failure of the late Pennsylvania U. S. Bank.

From an official document bearing the signature of president Jackson, dated the 18th of Sept., 1833, and published in the *Globe* the 23rd of the same month, and in *Niles'*

Register, vol. 45, page 76, we make the following quotation:

"The funds of the Government will not be annihilated by being transferred. They will *immediately* be issued for the *benefit of trade*, and if the bank of the United States curtails its loans, the state banks, STRENGTHENED by the public deposits, will EXTEND theirs. What comes in through one bank will go out through others, and the equilibrium will be preserved."

If, in the foregoing, he did not urge the deposit banks, "strengthened by the public deposits," to discount freely upon *them*, it was an *official* assurance that such a course was *expected* and would be *approved*. In one or the other point of view it presents itself to every sober-minded man. But we have further evidence from the same high source. In his eighth and last annual message, president Jackson says:

"It is, besides, against the genius of our free institutions to lock up in vaults the treasure of the nation. To take from the people the right of bearing arms and put their weapons of defence in the hands of a standing army, would be scarcely more dangerous to their liberties, than to permit government to accumulate immense amounts of treasure beyond the supplies necessary to its legitimate wants."

In the same message, strange as it may seem, he uses this language:

"The banks proceeded to make loans upon this surplus, and thus converted it into bank capital; and in this manner it has tended to multiply bank charters, and has had a great agency in producing a spirit of wild speculation. The possession and use of the property out of which this surplus was created belonged to the people; but the government has transferred its possession to incorporated banks, whose interest and effort it is to make large profits out of its use. This process needs only be stated to show its injustice and bad policy."

In the first place, president Jackson gave the deposit banks to understand, that it was expected of them to *loan out the deposit money* for the benefit of trade. Secondly: that it would be almost as wrong *not to do so* as to withhold arms from the people and place them in the hands of a *standing army*. Thirdly: that to lend out the money is

"*injustice and bad policy.*" Whilst the tongue could not utter, nor the mind conceive, greater inconsistency, the writer verily believes that it is wholly attributable to the bad effects of *party politics superseding reason and justice.* Gen. Jackson, in his military career, was brave and skilful; he had, then, but one duty to perform—to fight for his country: he did so and rendered important services. As president, he had *two* duties to perform: to serve his *country* and his *party.* Emulated by a laudable ambition to serve both, he destroyed a good currency and created a bad one. It is a fact that the average dividends paid by the deposite banks, were not larger than those of banks which never had anything to do with them, but, generally *less;* proof, positive, that the profits made by *extending* their discounts, as *advised* by Gen. Jackson, did not more than pay them for their extra expenses. It is a fact, that they received and paid out at their counters the public money without charge. It is a fact that, whilst some state banks applied for the deposits, others *refused to receive them.* It is a fact, that no responsible individual would, on his own responsibility, receive and pay out the government money without receiving compensation. It is a fact, that it would be unreasonable to ask an individual or banking institution to do so without compensation. And it is a fact, that if banking institutions are dispensed with in receiving and disbursing the revenue, that large sums will frequently be withheld from circulation, additional officers required, and, probably, heavy losses by defaulters.

Immediately after the removal of the deposits, Mr. Taney addressed letters to the deposite banks urging them to discount on the strength of the public deposits. In a letter, dated Oct. 9, 1833, he uses this language:

"The deposits of the public money will enable you to afford increased facilities to the commercial and other classes of the community; *the Department anticipates from you the adoption of such a course, respecting your accommodations, as will prove acceptable to the people and safe to the Government.*"

We next offer the following letter at full length from Mr. Woodbury, at that time Secretary of the Treasury:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Jan. 29, 1837.

"S. MERRILL, Esq., President:

"In selecting your institution as one of the fiscal agents of the Government, I need only rely on its solidity as affording a sufficient guaranty for the safety of the public money entrusted to its keeping, but I confide also in its disposition to adopt the most liberal course, which circumstances will admit, towards other institutions. The deposits of the public moneys will enable you to afford *increased* facilities to the commercial and other classes of the community, and the Department anticipates from you the adoption of such a course, respecting accommodation, as will prove acceptable to the people and safe to the Government.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"LEVI WOODBURY,

"Secretary of the Treasury."

The above letter was written only about three months previous to the first general suspension. We next ask the reader to bear in mind that the last sentence of the above letter agrees, word for word, and letter for letter, with instructions given by his predecessor nearly four years previous, from which it appears that the two Secretaries had standing instructions prepared for the banks. The Globe, the official paper, of Dec., 1833, exultingly said:

"The coalition has laboured in vain; every western state is about to establish a state bank institution. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky, are resolved to take care of themselves, and no longer depend on the kind guardianship of Messrs. Biddle, Clay, & Co."

We next lay before the reader tabular statements of the number of state banks in the United States from 1792 to 1837. They will be found convenient for reference, and will, it is believed, be useful to that large and respectable portion of the community who neither *seek* nor *desire* office; to that portion, more than to any other, we must look to for the preservation of our republican institutions, our liberty, and every thing dear to us or worthy of preservation. That portion can have no motive to deceive, and they will never, knowingly, act wrong.

The tables are carefully prepared from official documents.

| Year. | Banks. | Capital. |
|--------|--------|-------------|
| 1792 | 11 | \$8,935,000 |
| 1801 | 32 | 22,550,000 |
| 1805 | 75 | 40,493,000 |
| 1811 | 88 | 42,610,000 |
| 1815 | 157 | 82,259,590 |
| 1816 | 246 | 89,822,422 |
| 1820 | 307 | 102,210,611 |
| 1830 | 329 | 111,292,268 |
| ☞ 1834 | 506 | 170,123,788 |
| ☞ 1835 | 678 | 193,548,361 |
| ☞ 1836 | 689 | 316,875,295 |
| ☞ 1837 | 1007 | 378,421,291 |

The four first periods (1792, 1801, 1805, and 1811) cover the whole duration of the *first* United States Bank. The charter of that institution expired in 1811, and there were then 88 State Banks. The *second* United States Bank was chartered under Mr. Madison, in 1816. In the *five* years that intervened between the expiration of the *first* bank and the chartering of the *second*, the State Banks had increased from 88 to 246, being 158 increase.

From 1816, the date of the second United States Bank, to 1830, when General Jackson had commenced his rigorous attacks upon it—being a period of fourteen years—the State Banks increased only from 246 to 329, being 83—an average of only *six* a year. From 1830 to 1837—*seven* years—the State Banks had increased 678 (from 329 to 1007) being an annual average of *ninety-seven*.

Take another view: From the Revolutionary war to the year 1830 the number of State Banks created was 329; and, from 1830 to 1837 the number created was 678.—In other words, the policy of General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren has given the country more State Banks than existed in the whole of the preceding period of our history: yes, more, by 678.

We beg the reader to examine the foregoing official table, furnished by the Government, leisurely, and to draw his own conclusions. Let him notice that in 1830 there

were but 329 State Banks; and, that the *policy* of president Jackson, in the short space of seven years, increased them to the number of TEN HUNDRED AND SEVEN. He cannot, then, wonder that the country has been flooded with shinplasters, nor can he doubt as to the party measures that produced the bank explosions.

The following table gives a condensed view of the number of banks chartered in eleven States, in 1835 and '36, and their capitals:—

| <i>States.</i> | <i>No.</i> | <i>Capital.</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|
| Maine, (V. B.) | 23 | \$1,600,000 |
| Massachusetts, Whig) | 33 | 6,820,000 |
| Rhode Island, (V. B.) | 3 | 350,000 |
| Vermont, (Whig) | 1 | 300,000 |
| New York, (V. B.) | 12 | 5,250,000 |
| New Jersey, (V. B.) | 1 | 200,000 |
| Pennsylvania, (V. B.) | 6 | 36,700,000 |
| Maryland, (Whig) | 11 | 16,000,000 |
| Alabama, (V. B.) | 1 | 5,000,000 |
| Arkansas, (V. B.) | 2 | 3,000,000 |
| Michigan, (V. B.) | 9 | 3,250,000 |

To err is the lot of man, from which none are exempt. It was reasonable to have expected that after the policy of president Jackson failed to produce a "better currency" which was promised, (no doubt honestly,) that the error would have been acknowledged, and a National Bank erected; but Mr. Van Buren tried another "c̄xperiment," and the result is known. It would be difficult if not impossible to ascertain the amount of Bank capital owned by each political party, nor is it important; but as the democratic party have sometimes charged the whig party with being the Bank party, and denounced Banks as aristocratic institutions, the following facts may not be unimportant. First, one argument used by the whig party in favor of a National Bank was, that it would prevent an unwholesome increase of State Banks; secondly, the increase of Banks in the democratic or Jackson states, was greater than in the whig states.

If, however, there are any institutions in the United States more democratic than others, they are *positively*

Banking institutions. Because, the stock is held by all classes of the people, male and female, rich and poor. Any man who can raise twenty dollars, or more, can be a Bank stockholder; and, if of good character, may be a director or president. Besides, but a small portion of Bank capital is owned by stockjobbers or brokers, and it would certainly be to their interest to abolish all Banking institutions. But the writer does not charge them with being influenced by such motives, nor with being hostile to the Banks. It could not be expected that they would vest their capital in Banks, which, when in their most flourishing condition, would only pay them six or seven per cent. per annum, and in time of pressure not more, perhaps, than two or three per cent., when they can make more by shaving paper. Surely stockjobbers and brokers have the same right to use their own money in any legal way they please, as other persons. The stockjobbers and brokers have no right to complain, nor do they complain of the *democracy* for establishing Banks. It is true that all brokers are not men of large capital; and it is equally true that few of them are Bank men, for the reasons previously stated. We have brokers in the country with capitals varying from fifty dollars to fifty thousand; and there exists between them exactly the same difference that exists between the sparrowhawk and the eagle: the former shaves paper in proportion to their capital and at a discount governed by circumstances; whilst the sparrowhawk and eagle pounce upon game in proportion to their powers of destruction.

Notwithstanding the democracy extended the Banking institutions, so far as to lessen their usefulness, it is doubtful whether they could be extended so far as to produce as great an evil as would certainly follow if they were abolished. In all hard-money countries, without a single exception, the wages of labor are from fifty to eighty per cent. lower than in the United States, and the price of provisions are, upon an average, as high—probably higher, and the labouring class subsist on a scanty allowance of brown-bread and low, coarse diet. Such would be the case in the United States; in the course of time, if all

Banking institutions were abolished. The following is an extract from a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States by the Hon. W. D. Merrick in January, 1840:—

“In November, 1833, instructions were sent by the British Secretary of State, Lord Palmerston, to certain British consuls residing abroad, requiring answers to certain questions having reference to the state of agriculture, and to the condition of the agricultural peasantry within the districts of their consulates. Answers received from the consuls in various parts of France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, have lately been presented to Parliament; and from these documents the following abstract is taken:

“France: Calais, ploughmen, from 100 to 160 shillings a year; shepherds, 250 shillings; labourers, 7½ pence a day, found board only. Boulogne, ploughman, 144 shillings a year; labourers, 5 pence a day, without board or dwelling. Havre, farm servants, generally, 160 to 240 shillings a year, and at Brest from 48 to 120 shillings a year. Nants, labourers 8½ pence a day and find themselves. Charante, farm servants, generally, from 60 to 160 shillings a year. Bordeaux, labourers, from 12 to 15 pence a day and nothing found. Bayone, labourers, from 9 to 12 pence a day, nothing in addition. Marseilles, shepherds, from 200 to 240 shillings a year. Corsica, labourers, 11 pence a day, nothing else. Germany: Dantzic, farm servants, from 52 to 64 shillings a year; labourers from 4½ to 7 pence a day, without board but found a dwelling. Mecklenburg, farm servants, 100 shillings a year; labourers, 7 pence a day, with dwelling but not board. Holstein, farm servants, from 73 to 100 shillings a year; labourers, 7 pence a day and dwelling but not board. Netherlands: South Holland, farm servants, from 200 to 250 shillings a year; labourers, from 3 to 4 pence a day and found. North Holland: Freisland, farm servants, from 50 to 160 shillings a year; labourers, from 6 to 16 pence a day and find themselves. Antwerp, farm servants, 78 shillings a year; labourers, 5 pence a day and find themselves. West Flanders, farm servants, 96 to 104 shillings a year. Italy: Triest, labourers, from 6 to 12 pence a day and find themselves. Istria, laborers, from 8 to 10 pence a day and find

themselves; or, 4 to 5 pence a day and found board and dwelling. Lombardy, labourers, from 4 to 8 pence a day and found. Genoa, farm servants, from 60 to 100 shillings a year; labourers, from 5 to 8 pence a day, no board but dwelling; or 12 pence a day without board or dwelling. Tuscany, farm servants, 40 shillings a year; labourers, 6 pence a day and find themselves." All those who worked by the year were found in board and dwelling.

"Now, sir, I am greatly in hopes our people will read and ponder over this statement: they will there see that in France *yearly wages* for an able-bodied man, range from 48 to 250 shillings; and day laborers get in that country from four pence half-penny to fifteen pence per day; and whenever they get as much as five pence they have to find themselves. In Germany, wages are still lower, and range by the year between 52 and 100 shillings, and day laborers receive from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 pence per day, and find themselves in food. In South Holland, farm hands get from 200 to 250 shillings, and day laborers from 3 to 4 pence per day, and are found. And so on, sir. Whoever will take the trouble to examine the statement, which is *official* and *authentic*, will see, that in all these countries which are held up to us as such bright examples of *hard-money countries*—France, Germany, Netherlands, Italy—wages by the year for an able-bodied, sound, healthy man, nowhere exceed 250 shillings; and, in many instances, fall as low as forty, fifty, and sixty shillings; and the daily wages range from *three pence* to *nine* and *twelve pence*, rising in one place, and only one, to twenty pence, and the laborer finding himself! What a commentary upon the hard-money policy!"

The reader is earnestly requested to bear in mind, that the average price of provisions in the hard-money countries is as high, if not higher, than in the United States. Every man who is intelligent upon the subject, and who is an advocate for an exclusively hard-money currency, whether he calls himself a democrat or a whig, or by whatever cognomen he may choose to be known, must be an advocate for those *marked distinctions* in society which prevail in all hard-money countries. Although such a man is not in a direct and literal sense a *cannibal*, he can have no other

regard for the labouring class than that which he has for the *flesh, fowl, and fish* which supply his table. His object must be to render poverty and misery hereditary throughout the working class, and gormandize on the fruits of their labour. Every such intelligent politician is, morally, a *man-eater*. Ye men of labour! if we are brought to an exclusively hard-money currency, there must be the same distinctions in society that exist in all hard-money countries—those who are poor must be rendered more so, and misery and degradation entailed upon them and their posterity. Ye labouring men, who are politically honest, do you wish the wages of labour reduced to six or eight cents a day, to be reduced in comfort, below the beasts of burthen, which are generally well fed and housed? Do you wish to see the bread, meat, fowl and fish, produced by your labour, served on the tables of the rich and potent, and you fed upon husks and chaff? If so, vote for those who advocate an exclusively hard money currency.

It has been said that Mr. Jefferson pronounced a National Bank unconstitutional. There is not in his inaugural address, in his communications to Congress, or in his memoirs, prepared by him for the press a short time previous to his death, a sentence in support of such declaration; but there can be found positive proof to the contrary, as the following:

“An Act supplementary to the act entitled an act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States:

Be it enacted, &c., That the president and directors of the Bank of the United States shall be and they are hereby authorized to establish offices of discount and deposite in any part of the territories or dependencies of the United States, in the manner, and on the terms, prescribed by the act to which this is a supplement.

“Approved, March 23, 1804.

“TH. JEFFERSON.”

To avoid the force of the foregoing, it has been said that as a bank was established, Mr. Jefferson could consistently sanction a bill for a branch, though he believed it unconstitutional. Such an argument would scarcely be excusable if used by an enemy to Mr. Jefferson; but to

come from *professed* friends, is cruel. The *real* friends of Mr. Jefferson ask for proof, before they can believe that he pronounced a National Bank unconstitutional. If the *mother* bank was unconstitutional, the *children*, *i. e.* the branch banks, must have been *illegitimates*, and two or more *wrongs* cannot make a *right*.

The following extracts of a letter from Col. Monroe to Silas E. Burrows, dated New York, January 20, 1831, are worthy of an attentive perusal. It is the language of a man whose sound judgment and political integrity and devotion to his country were never questioned. Bear in mind the date of the letter, being the year previous to president Jackson's veto:

"You ask me what is my opinion of the effect which the United States Bank has on the national currency, and as to the policy of renewing its charter? What the situation of the government without its aid during the late war? What its general advantages in regulating exchanges, in facilitating remittances to individuals, and its general importance?

"When the old United States Bank was first instituted, I was one of those who voted against it in the Senate. I doubted the power of the government, under the Constitution, to make such an establishment, and was fearful that the influence which it would give to the government over the moneyed concerns of the Union would have a very improper effect upon our free system. The Bank was instituted soon after the government was adopted, and at a period when the question of the relative powers of the government excited great feeling, and divided the Congress of the Union into very jealous and violent parties. I was of that party which construed the powers of the national government strictly, and sought to impose upon it correspondent restraint. So far as any *change has since taken place in my opinion, it has been the result of experience, and prompted by a belief that such change would give strength to the system, and not weaken or endanger it.*

* * * * "The revenue of a government is generally limited to certain specified objects, according to an estimate for each, and to which it is appropriated. The fund raised sometimes falls short of the object. It seldom

exceeds it in any considerable amount. For the want of an appropriation, it must lie idle in the Treasury until appropriated; and if appropriated as a provision—for an emergency of war, for example—it must still lie idle in the Treasury until that event occurs, or be loaned out. It could not lie idle; the whole nation would *revolt against it*; and if loaned out, it might be impossible to obtain it when called for, and might even be lost.

* * * “A National Bank occupies a different ground. Connected with the government by its charter and its capital, which consists of stock, in which the government participates in a certain degree, there is no instance in which, on principle, there can be a difference of interest between them, and many powerful considerations by which the interest of the bank must stimulate it to support the credit of the government in any situation in which it may be placed. If the credit of the stock should sink, the capital of the bank would decline in equal degree; the effect of which would be felt in all its operations. Standing at the head of the moneyed operations of the government, it is its intermediate agent in making remittances to banks and individuals, from which much credit and influence are gained, if not profit. It has the means, and may be considered the most powerful agent in raising and sustaining the circulating medium on a par with specie throughout the Union, and of elevating the state Banks to that standard, by subjecting them to the necessity of reaching and adhering to it, to sustain their credit, and even their existence. Let the credit of the government sink, and all these advantages are lost. The Bank, therefore, from a *regard to interest*, is *bound to sustain it*. The directors, except the few appointed by government, are elected by the stockholders, and are amenable to them. It gives its support, therefore, to the government on principles of national policy, in the support of which it is interested, and would disdain becoming an instrument for any other purpose.

“The view above presented is supported by *experience*, and particularly by the events of the war. When the war commenced, the government had not the funds which were necessary to support it, and was in consequence forced to re-

sort to loans which were with difficulty obtained from any quarter, even in limited degree, and on unfavourable terms. I have not the official documents before me, and cannot state the sources from which any loans were obtained, nor the conditions, with the decline of the public credit as the war advanced. I well remember, however, that when I was called by the president to the Department of War, on 31st August, 1814, the certificates of the Treasury were selling at \$80 in the \$100, by which \$20 were lost.

* * * * * "This proves that, until the Union is threatened with ruin, no loans can be obtained in emergencies, *without a National Bank*, otherwise than at a great sacrifice. These considerations led to a change in my opinion, and led me to *concur with the president in the propriety of instituting such a Bank*, after the conclusion of the war in 1816. As to the constitutional objection, it formed no serious obstacle. In voting against it in the first instance, I was governed essentially by policy. The construction I gave to the Constitution I considered a strict one. In the latter instance, it was more liberal, but according to my judgment, justified by its powers."

Candour, political honesty, a sound judgment and studious habits were leading traits in the qualifications of president Monroe, and were appreciated by the people. Altho' his mind was less brilliant than those of some of the presidents, he was not surpassed by any in weight of character, except, only, the Father of his country, who, for every thing great and good, was never surpassed by any man. The testimony of the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, in *support of a National Bank*, will here be appropriate. Whenever a man *voluntarily testifies against himself*, he is entitled to credit for all he says, and the writer hopes that the reader will give full credit to the testimony and impartially weigh it. In a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, 14th March, 1838, Mr. B. said:

☞ "The second Bank was brought forward, *in the extremity of their distress*, by the republican administration, to help them out of the *mud and mire* of a broken bank currency, and to *aid them* in the operations of the government." ☞

The mud and mire commenced accumulating immediately after the rejection of the bill for renewing the first Bank, in 1811. What would be said of a man who, after having been by a benefactor taken from the "mud and mire"—saved by his friend from impending ruin—placed upon solid ground—would turn against his benefactor and slay him?

Col. Benton stands at the head of the hard-money portion of his party, and he shall be heard on that subject. In a letter dated Springfield, June 1, 1839, he says:

"The richest countries in the world, such as Holland, the Hanseatic towns, Cuba, &c., have no paper money at all. France has none under one hundred dollars, and England has none under twenty-five dollars, and all these countries, especially France and the three former, have an overflowing abundance of gold and silver, not only enough for their own uses, but to lend to all foreign nations, and that at the low rate of four or five per cent. per annum."

The foregoing is, doubtless, as true a statement, as far as it goes, as could be given. It is to be regretted, however, that the hard-money philanthropist forgot, or had not room on his sheet, to state that in those hard-money countries in which money is loaned to foreign nations—~~not~~ not to individuals—~~the~~ the gold, silver and copper are locked up in the vaults of the government and the pockets of the officers of state and a comparatively few wealthy individuals more or less connected with the government; that the labouring classes, constituting the majority, have to work from twelve to sixteen hours each day, at wages sufficient only to sustain life on low and coarse diet, and are reduced to the lowest grade of ignorance, poverty and servility; that few have a *sous* in their pockets on Monday morning, and that that will *certainly* be the case in the United States, should it become a hard-money country and have money to lend to "*foreign nations at four or five per cent.*" In the United States, as yet, the money belongs to the great body of the people, and circulates among them; in all the hard-money countries, the money is owned by the *few*; the *many* can only sustain life by hard labour.

The sentiments of mankind are formed, in whole or to a great extent, from circumstances. A hard-money philan-

thropist, standing with his arms gracefully folded, beholds a teamster seated on a horse, with a whip in his hand, driving and governing a team of horses harnessed and drawing a loaded car: the strength of one of the horses is many times greater than that of the driver, yet the animals are harnessed and well broken to servility, and the crack of the whip produces obedience. So, in a hard-money country, an officer or nobleman stands with a sword or whip in his hand: the labouring classes are unarmed, uneducated, ignorant of their rights, and in many cases so degraded as to have no other ambition than to obey their oppressors. If the great body of the people of the United States, who are intelligent, who neither seek or desire office, whose honest principles are in a line with their interest, who have no motive to deceive, and whose hearts, if examined, would not present a speck of dishonesty, do not select representatives with strict regard to measures, competency, faithfulness and honesty, it is more than probable that we shall soon be blessed or cursed with a hard-money currency and the government have money to lend to "foreign nations at four or five per cent. per annum," and the labouring classes and their posterity reduced to a level with the labouring classes of other hard-money countries.

The number of Banks should be limited as near as possible to the most useful point, avoiding the extreme. If there was danger that the fulcrum and lever power of the late Bank would overturn the government, its destruction, which gave rise to five hundred additional Banks, greatly increased the danger apprehended. The Philistines succeeded in capturing Samson, but it was to them a dear victory; and in their attempt to degrade him and make sport, they exposed their folly. Just so with the late Bank. The policy flooded the country with a vicious currency, generally called "shin-plasters." Instead of rebuilding the *tower*, an opposite experiment—the Sub-Treasury—was recommended, honestly, no doubt, but which, if carried out, would have certainly brought us to a hard-money currency, as that currency only was to be received in payment of dues to the government, after a specified time. The money collected could not be paid out until appropriated and called for; consequent-

ly, large sums would frequently be locked up, withheld from circulation, and no equivalent circulated in its place. Against the operation of such a policy the people "*would revolt*;" it could only be enforced by military power, and could not be carried into operation and continued long through the ballot-box. If the principle which destroyed the Bank—its *power*—was carried out, the whole human family would commence assassinating each other, on the ground of *self-preservation*. Every man possesses the *power* to commit *murder*, but it does not follow that every man possesses a *disposition* equal to his *power* to assassinate. It is to the interest of a National Bank to support the government, as certainly as it is to the interest of the farmer to cultivate his land. Mr. Monroe's objection to a National Bank, in the first place, was that it would make the government too strong—not that it would weaken it. Experience proved to him that the government and the people required such an institution, and, in the true spirit of a philanthropist, he yielded to the teaching of experience.

Where there are no maximum laws, the produce of the earth and the wages of labour are, generally, as much the standards by which the value of depreciated paper is fixed as is the specie standard. If, for instance, we had a paper currency, depreciated ten, twenty, thirty per cent., or more, below the specie standard, it would, generally, be about as much depreciated below the standard of wages or the value of produce. As the depreciation is generally gradual, if the circulation is rapid, and the paper depreciates fifty per cent. below par, taking specie, wages of labour, or produce, as the standard, no individual, probably, would lose more than from one to two per cent. during its downward value, except those only who had no immediate use for it; such as merchants and others who have payments to make every three or six months, &c. But those who received it in small sums, and immediately passed it off in the payment of small debts, in the purchase of provisions or other necessaries, would seldom sustain a real loss of more than one or two per cent., and might be benefitted to an equal or greater extent in the facility of procuring it. Not so with merchants and others who had to keep

it on hands for months, some of whom would make such long steps in descending the ladder as to break their necks, whilst others would descend with ease and safety. When down to a *minimum* its comparative value would be settled and the holders could not lose, but might gain by an advance in its value.

Soon after the declaration of war, in 1812, the Banks generally suspended specie payments—a few of the eastern banks were the only exceptions, and they, generally, withdrew their notes from circulation. The amount of specie in the country was generally estimated at sixty-five millions, and many believed that the actual amount was less. The government resorted to direct taxation, issuing of treasury notes, and loans to raise money to support the war; all of which was received in paper, with few exceptions, and in comparatively small sums. The ascertained debt created by the war, on the last day of Sept., 1815, was a little over eighty-five millions, and the claims of Massachusetts and other states, which were afterwards presented and allowed, swelled the amount several millions of dollars. Now if the government had wholly rejected paper money, and dealt wholly in coin, the collection of the direct tax would have produced general distress and wide-spread ruin, and it is doubtful whether it could have been collected in coin by any possible means. And to have raised loans amounting to nearly ninety millions of dollars in specie could not have been effected by any means. Notwithstanding the loss on the discount upon treasury notes, which were exchanged for bank paper, the high rate of interest paid on loans of paper money, it was much better than to have distressed and ruined a brave and patriotic people in a fruitless attempt to raise the necessary sums of money in coin. The entire national debt after the conclusion of the late war, including the debt at its commencement, was about one hundred and thirty millions. In 1816 a national bank was established, affording a paper currency equivalent to specie, and sometimes at a premium; the state Banks were kept within wholesome bounds, until a war was waged against the National Bank; and, in about twenty years after the conclusion of the war, the whole

national debt was paid off without producing pressure.

Can any unprejudiced man believe that such benefits and blessings could have been produced without the aid of banking institutions? Compare the condition of our country, when we were overwhelmed with suspensions, with the condition of hard-money countries, and the comparison will be in favor of the United States, almost beyond the power of description. Next compare the currency and condition of our country during the existence of the late National Bank with that of hard-money countries, and, if the mind can act free from prejudice, the difference in favor of the United States may be conceived, in proportion to our imagination and senses, but cannot be accurately described.

Money is represented as the sinew of war, and indispensable for the support of government in peace or war. But, if we restrict the term money to *coin*, it is not indispensably necessary in all countries, either to maintain a war or to support government. In point of fact, there is no more intrinsic value in gold than in iron. The value attached to gold is attributable, principally, to its scarcity. Gold is less portable than paper, and, in many cases, is inconvenient; but it is less destructible, and its comparative scarcity has rendered it more valuable than iron. If the former were as abundant as the latter, iron would be the more useful, and would, consequently, be of more value than gold.

A paper currency carried the patriots of America through the Revolution; and paper was almost the exclusive currency in the United States during the last war. As the United States produce a superabundance of provisions, arms, ammunition, and every thing necessary for clothing and equipping the military on land and sea, the government could prosecute a war with any nation whatever, with as great effect, if there were not a single piece of coin within the limits of the country, as it could do if in possession of the desired amount of coin; but not without inconvenience. The amount of paper issued by the government, under such circumstances, and not returned to the government in the payment of taxes or debts, would constitute the amount of the national debt. Specie is the standard; gold and silver

are only recognized by the Constitution as a lawful tender in individual business transactions, and the writer would be as much opposed as any man to making anything but specie a lawful tender, except under extreme cases, required as the only means of preservation. Under such circumstances, the government would be justifiable in resorting to, and enforcing, a paper currency, upon the principle of a loan, to be liquidated by coin or its equivalent.

The writer will not assert that banking institutions could be so organized as to render temporary suspension impossible under all circumstances; nor that a house could be so built as always to resist the elements; but he does say the former can be so organized as to render suspensions improbable, and the redemption of their notes in specie or its equivalent, without loss to the holder, as certain as any result produced by human agency.

Banks are necessary and convenient to all classes of the people, and enable men of small capital to compete with individuals of large capital, and check, if not wholly overcome, the power of wealthy individuals over the community. Banks are as necessary to preserve our republican form of government in its purity, and to perpetuate that wholesome mutation by which property is daily passing from those who were born rich to those who were born poor, as is food necessary to support life. It is true that we cannot live without food, but we can live without Banks, as is proven that people do live in the hard-money countries spoken of by Colonel Benton. But it is not true that the people in those hard-money countries live under republican governments, and that property is daily passing from those who were born rich to those who were born poor, and that all property changes owners every fifteen or twenty years as is the case in the United States. A glutton who had become sick by over-eating, and who would resolve never to eat again, would not act more absurd than do those who, having by imprudent measures increased Banks so far as to produce temporary evils, attempt to annihilate them. Reason and moderation are preferable to extremes and extravagance.

The first settlement in the city of Boston was made by a group of Puritan ministers and laymen who had fled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630. They were led by Rev. John Winthrop, who had been the first minister of the church in Boston. The group of settlers, known as the "City upon a Hill," were determined to create a new society based on the principles of the Bible. They believed that they were the "chosen people" of God, and that their mission was to create a model of Christian society for the world to see.

The settlers arrived in Boston in 1630, and they found a small group of Native Americans who had been living in the area for many years. The settlers and the Native Americans had a difficult relationship. The settlers believed that the Native Americans were heathens, and they wanted to convert them to Christianity. The Native Americans, on the other hand, were suspicious of the settlers and their motives. They did not want to be converted, and they did not want to live with the settlers.

Despite the difficulties, the settlers managed to establish a permanent settlement in Boston. They built a fort on the tip of the peninsula, and they built a church and a school. They also built a town, and they began to grow crops and raise livestock. The settlement grew slowly, but it became a permanent part of the city of Boston.

Over the years, the city of Boston has grown into one of the largest and most important cities in the United States. It has a rich history, and it has many famous landmarks. It is a city of many firsts, and it is a city that has always been a leader in its field. The city of Boston is a place of many stories, and it is a place that is always changing. But one thing is true: the city of Boston is a place that has always been a part of the American dream.



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